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Marxism Today

AT THE CLOSE OF THE DAY—A TRIBUTE TO HARRY POLLITT

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

DENNIS GOODWIN — TOWARDS 100 PER CENT TRADE UNIONISM: SOME PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

JACK WODDIS — SOCIALIST AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

S. & V. LEFF — MENTAL ILLNESS

DISCUSSION:

MARSHALL HARRIS — ON CYBERNETICS

EDWIN H. DARE — ON CULTURE AND SOCIALISM

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Marxism Today

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Editorial correspondence
James Klugmann,
16 King Street, W.C.2.

Advertisements
Margaret Williamson,
above address.

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AT THE CLOSE OF THE DAY

A tribute to Harry Pollitt

AS I sit down to pen my tribute to our Harry by whose side I have worked in days of rejoicing and moments of sorrow, would that I could write with the verve of the poet and the wisdom of the seer to pour out love and devotion equal to his own.

Our Communist Party in the midst of its haunting sorrow is encouraged and inspired by the tributes from far and near, from leaders and rank and file testifying to the great work that this working lad from Lancashire had accomplished in his day.

I met him first intimately at the Commission which examined our young Party's shortcomings and difficulties in 1921, when we were suffering intensely from growing pains and maybe from swelled heads and ghosts of illusions. I marvelled then at his capacity for taking pains to reach and teach those fundamental truths elaborated by Lenin which were still far from being the possession of our young and inexperienced Party. Elsewhere abler comrades, friends and foes have testified to the many-sided qualities of Harry's remarkable personality. As a tribune of the people he had few equals, as a theorist and disciple of Lenin he found, in the midst of strenuous daily work, the time to study and study again, in the works of the founders and developers of scientific socialism, to examine with care the tomes of anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism which poured from college, press and pulpit and from trade union pundits who had chosen the primrose path at the end of which came knighthoods, lordships and oblivion. Harry's sturdy class consciousness and revolutionary understanding saved him from such petty ambitions and he lashed with disgust the posturings and preening of these heroes of the full purse and the empty view.

One outstanding feature of his leadership was his insistence on work in the trade union movement. Although rebuffed and insulted by many of its leaders he never lost contact with or confidence in the trade union as a fighting organisation of the working class. In his speeches, pamphlets and books he emphasised their traditions and importance. He was always with them when they grew in numbers or suffered losses as in the war periods and their aftermath.

The governments of the capitalist class were more aware of his power and influence than too many of his fellow workers. They honoured him, not with knighthood but with lonely nights in their prison cells, but even there he reflected and thought out ever new ways of uniting the workers in pursuit of their immediate aims and their ultimate objective—a world free from cant and hypocrisy as well as free from want, hunger and despair. How we missed him and our other E.C. members during the General Strike of 1926. We remembered his great service to the Minority movement which saved the honour of the British trade unions and held together the militant core. To visit Harry in prison was a tonic and an inspiration ; we went to cheer him and came away encouraged by his ready smile and cheery counsel.

In those days, when the full fury of the government was turned upon us, when our comings and goings were beset by the sleuths of the Yard, when we learned a lot in shifts and wiles, our Harry was on top of his form, finding places to meet in, from trade union premises to church circles. East, North, South and West London provided room for our meetings and many grim as well as comical experiences added to Harry's budget of well told stories.

It has been my good fortune to work with him in many lands, to note his growing influence in the international movement. Our last journey together was to China, where he was welcomed by Mao Tse-tung and Central Committee members and engaged in long and fruitful discussions on the world situation as it was at that time.

One feature of his life and work I must emphasise, his care for comrades and his constant search for and encouragement to the young and promising cadres. His belief in the land of his birth, his love for the class he was

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born in, his intimate knowledge of their lives, their joys and sorrows. Care for the ageing, the sick and the sorrowful distinguished him. I remember his devotion to Tom Mann in his latter years, like that of a son to a well loved father. If it be not out of place in this article I pay tribute to Marjory, Jean and Brian in these trying days. Always as I mourn the passing of great men, and Harry Pollitt was one of the truly great, a haunting Highland Coronach buzzes in my mind.

"Lament we the leader whose great deeds are ended,
Whose voice ne'er again shall be heard by his class.
Let music and wailing in sad notes be blended
For he who lies lowly we ne'er can surpass.
His wisdom and courage, his word ringing glory
Shall long be the theme of the harper and bard,
Our children will listen and ponder his story
And power through knowledge will be their reward.
We have laid him to sleep where his comrades lie sleeping,
United in Death as in Life they had fought,
With pride in our hearts, though our eyes may be weeping
We will follow the way that our leader has taught."

Hail and farewell.

BOB STEWART

Editorial Comments

THE current right-wing offensive on the Labour Party has three major aims:—The elimination of Clause 4, the putting through of the new "defence" policy and the attempt to secure sole and complete power for the "parliamentary leadership" to determine Labour Party policy, freed from the trammels of Conference decisions. This last is not the least important of right-wing objectives, and should not be lost sight of in the heat of battle on the other two. One of the most recent protagonists on this front is Mr. Ivan Yates, who, speaking on the Third Programme of the B.B.C., declared:

> "Has not the time come . . . for the Labour Party to explode the myth of control by Annual Conference and proclaim the reality that the Parliamentary leadership exercises the power of decision?" (Power and Democracy in the Labour Party—Talk on the Third Programme, *The Listener*, 30.6.60.)

With singular lack of scruple, Mr. Yates uses all the malpractices that have served the right wing for years to prove that the idea that the Labour Party Conference decides policy is (and certainly should be) a "myth". But he goes further. He attacks the whole conception of Labour Party Conference deciding Labour Party policy as "undemocratic".

In this Mr. Yates—a political writer on *Reynolds News*—is joined in an unholy alliance by *The Economist*, with its leading article of July 2nd—"Back to Facelessness?"

In essence both his argument and that of *The Economist* are variations on the theme that it is anathema for local Labour Parties to exercise any sort of control over Labour M.P.s. The argument here has always been that the M.P. is responsible first and foremost to his constituents —all of them—and not to his local organisation. Pressure from these latter bodies has always been stigmatised as "outside interference", a gross violation of the rights and duties of M.P.s, as a challenge to our democratic institutions, etc., etc.

Mr. Yates and *The Economist* now take up this theme as follows: the Labour Party Conference is representative of, and elected by a minority, this minority is "unrepresentative". The Labour M.P.s, however, are responsible in the first place to the mass of Labour voters:

> "The . . . vote in the constituencies is wildly unrepresentative of the bulk of the Labour supporters, consisting as it does of some 50,000 activists, whereas Labour M.P.s, being elected by millions of Labour supporters, form the most representative body in the movement" (Ivan Yates).

> ". . . . the need today is for Labour to become a mass democratic party. At present it is the reverse. A mass democratic party is one that seeks to understand and truly represent the general body of thirteen or fourteen million voters on whom it depends for its hopes of power. An isolated and undemocratic party is one that assumes that policy making is the prerogative of an active minority" (*The Economist*).

It is not therefore surprising that both Mr. Yates and *The Economist* are united in urging

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that "in the name of democracy" the right-wing leadership should violate Conference decisions and, if necessary, stage a *coup d'état* to impose their will on the Labour Party and on all its organisations. This, says Mr. Yates, "could stem as a straightforward act of defiance of a particularly unpalatable Conference decision . . ." The situation must be met, declares *The Economist*, "by divorcing the policy followed by the parliamentary party from control by the Annual [Party] Conference".

Thus in the name of democracy, democracy is assailed. The electorate vote for Labour M.P.s not because they like them as individuals, but precisely because they see them as representatives of a party based on working class organisations, of a party that is under the democratic control of the organisations of the working class, and whose decisions and policy are worked out at its Conference.

The electorate votes not for individuals, but for the *policy* of the Labour Party. If the Labour Party had a more militant policy, more and not less of the electorate would vote for it. Already the right wing have been forced to withdraw on the issue of Clause 4 and the Labour Party Constitution. This shows that the growth of the left and militant sections within the Labour movement and Party and the resulting change in the relation of forces is something *new*—the fruits of forty years of consistent militant effort with which, at all stages, the Communist Party has been intimately connected.

This is not a time for militants to rest on their laurels. This first victory must be extended into other fields, including a change in the leadership of the Labour Party to correspond with the militant feelings and desires within the Labour movement.

Sniping at Marx

It seems to be impossible for people, nowadays, to write on any political, economic or social question without having a side swipe at Karl Marx, however irrelevant. A good example is the most recent Fabian pamphlet *The Socialist Imagination* by Wayland and Elizabeth Young (Fabian Tract 326), who write:

> "No Western political philosophers, from Aristotle to Rousseau, ever thought about the world as a whole. Hegel had a shot at it but could not digest the idea of China. Marx, who reaped the first fruits of the steam engine, did better; but he projected two experiences of his own to cover all the world—the class system of England and the eschatology of Judaism."

It is, perhaps, unfair to describe this as a side swipe. It is more like a gentle stroke from a feather, but what on earth does it mean? Is it suggested that Marx looked at all the countries in the world as if they resembled capitalist England? This is the complete opposite of the truth. In the book *Marx and Engels on Colonialism* (just published by Lawrence & Wishart) there are about one hundred pages consisting of articles and letters on India and China. So far from finding in these countries a replica of "the class system of England", Marx revealed their distinctive class system which was being broken up by English economic and political intervention. As for the capitalist states, he always took into account the specific class structure, institutions, customs and history of any given country.

Of course Marx was of Jewish origin, though his father became a Christian, and he became an atheist, and whatever else he studied, as he and Engels were developing their outlook, on the basis of a study of all the relevant facts, it certainly did not include the "eschatology of Judaism". In any case what is the purpose of these remarks? They do not illuminate the themes of the pamphlet, but are just one more feeble and gratuitous sneer.

Rostow Too

Professor Walt Whitman Rostow is yet another who accuses Marx of not knowing a great deal about countries outside Britain:

> "Like the parochial intellectual of Western Europe he [Marx] saw the prospects in Asia and Africa were mainly beyond his ken, dealt with almost wholly in the context of British policy, rather than in terms of their own modernisation" (*The Stages of Economic Growth*, p. 157).

One wonders who amongst the politicians and political writers who were Marx's contemporaries, say between 1848 and 1883, did deal with the "prospects in Asia and Africa in terms *of their own modernisation*". Who the devil can Mr. Rostow produce in this period writing about Africa in such terms? How ludicrous can one get in attempting to denigrate Marx?

Someone, however, must have told the professor that, after all, Marx did write quite a lot about Asia, so he adds the footnote, "Marx did, however, make some interesting *ad hoc* observations on India and China in writing as a *journalist* about British policy in the Opium Wars and the Indian Mutiny". Writing as a journalist! Not, be it noted, as a revolutionary thinker whose

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doctrines are being studied in the capitalist world (leaving out the socialist world) today to a greater extent than at any period in the three-quarters of a century that have passed since his death.

What a journalist! What profound knowledge behind those *ad hoc* observations which can still be read with profit, one hundred years later. Walt Whitman Rostow will be lucky if anyone cares to read him ten years from now.

Who is for Peace?

Professor Wright Mills is a courageous and perceptive critic of American capitalism and of its foreign policy. He is a whole-hearted fighter for peace, and has often proclaimed the great truth that "war, not Russia, is the enemy". But, having discovered and analysed what he calls "the power elite" in American society, he has become a prisoner of his own conceptions. He sees a "power elite" in all highly industrialised societies —whether it be United States or the Soviet Union. For him all such elites exhibit the same characteristics, represent the same threats to peace and to democracy. All, for him, are equally driven by their own inner dynamics to world domination and to war. This idea already marred his earlier book *The Causes of World War III*. He now repeats this same thesis—though with many qualifications—in a long article "The Balance of Blame" (*Tribune*, 1.7.60).

This article is studded with statements indicating an equal "balance of blame" for the present world situation on the part of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.:

> "Each of the embattled camps contains men and forces that are working for peace, and also men and forces that mean war".
> ". . . like the American, the Soviet's elite persist in the delusion that nuclear war is still a means to ends other than the suicide of mankind".

In so far as these generalisations can be pinned down to actual acts, statements and measures of government policy, they are demonstrably false so far as the Soviet Union is concerned and—as any objective study of the course of international events would prove—applies solely to the policy of ruling circles in the U.S.A.

We do not wish to pursue Professor Wright Mills as to whether this conception of "A plague on both your houses" is the American liberal's way of defending himself when attacking his own reactionaries, but it is a conception that simply will not bear examination. We could fill the entire issue of *Marxism Today* with statement after statement of the most highly placed leaders of the American armed forces, State Department, Senate Appropriation Committee, etc., etc., speaking of preventive wars, of big wars, little wars, wars restricted or extended, of the U.S. task of world leadership. Why is this so? It is so because this is the essence of imperialism. But it is *impossible* to find statements of this character from Soviet sources, because the Soviet army is a new type of army, the instrument of a *socialist, peace-loving* state. The thesis of "equal blame" will simply not bear examination and newspaper tittle-tattle is no alternative to a serious examination of the facts.

The Soviet Union has fought for peace and peaceful co-existence since 1917. The first Soviet proposal for total and complete general disarmament was made, not by Premier Khrushchov in 1959, but by the Soviet delegation to the Fourth Session of the League of Nations Preparatory Disarmament Conference held as long ago as 1927. War propaganda is a criminal offence in the Soviet Union and no Soviet general or leading political figure has ever spoken about "preventive war". It is the Soviet government which is fighting for the total abolition of nuclear weapon tests and the total destruction of all atomic weapons. The contrary record of the American government on all these questions is known to all. It is a great pity that Professor Wright Mills introduces such cold war ideas into an article which, despite these statements, makes clear that it is in the whole interest of American monopoly capitalism to drive to war, while the whole interest of the Soviet Union lies in peace, peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition.

Whose Culture? Whose Freedom?

If the intention of the organisers of the recent "Progress in Freedom" Conference of the Congress of Cultural Freedom was to send out a heartening rallying cry to the anti-Communist intellectuals of the world, they can scarcely be congratulating themselves on the results.

The Conference, meeting (who would have guessed it?) in West Berlin, seems from the reports to have been anything but an inspiring affair. "Intellectual gloom and doom" was *The Guardian's* headline. As usual in such gatherings the eminent intellectuals expressed a contempt of the "Free World" only slightly less heartfelt than their concern to defend it from socialism. How unutterably vulgar—not to say materialistic—the widespread concern with such "temporal goods" as motor cars, television sets and washing machines! And how maddening for the avant-garde West German dramatic critic to

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discover that the most shocking plays, though they made plenty of money, no longer shocked anyone!

The Conference-attenders—they would certainly repudiate any suggestion that they were delegates or *represented* anyone (that would be suspiciously like totalitarianism)—do not seem to have agreed on very much except, perhaps, on a half-baked cosmopolitanism which they confuse with internationalism. "The decade has stabilised an international style, void of obvious folk-loric content. In fact music is becoming steadily more international," said a New York music critic, blissfully unaware of two-thirds of the world, and adding "Perhaps this is why the composers more and more sound all alike". He had certainly put his finger on something there, and something that applied not only to music.

Nothing is less individual that individualism, and although the cultural freedom-fighters of West Berlin no doubt found it positively encouraging that they did not agree on very much, there were in fact certain fundamental agreements, expressed as revealingly as anywhere in the remark: "The writer does well to see himself as the conscience of mankind, just as he does well to realise that mankind may not pay attention". Arrogance, ineffectuality, and contempt for the people are here blended in proportions that might turn the stomach of anyone less sensitive than the professional apologists of the "free" civilisation of capitalism.

The Novels of Colin MacInnes

Readable, progressive novels are not so common these days that one can afford to ignore the appearance of an able and entertaining new novelist. Within a couple of years Colin MacInnes has produced three remarkably interesting novels of London. *City of Spades* was about the West African immigrants and their problems; *Absolute Beginners* was chiefly concerned with a section of metropolitan teenagers and ended with a magnificent description of the Notting Hill racial riots; *Mr. Love and Justice* is an allegorical story (less successful perhaps than its predecessors) about the degradation of personal relationships by the vice-racket and of justice by the police.

Not the least of the virtues of this latest novel is its realistic picture of the police force, a very far cry from the cosy sentimentalities of *Dixon of Dock Green*. MacInnes is not out so much to "expose" particular scandals of bribery and collusion—the Sunday press has no objection to this kind of exposure, especially as it gives the opportunity for some good juicy pictures of what is being exposed—as to reveal the basic social role of the police in our society, a far more serious and worth-while undertaking. It is interesting that the stock description of Colin MacInnes' novels in the bourgeois press is "documentary". Presumably this is meant to put readers off; or perhaps the reviewers are so unused to any kind of basic realism that this is the only word that they can find.

But it is a misleading description of these lively, individual and somewhat eccentric novels. MacInnes has an exceptionally good ear for colloquial speech, he captures marvellously the talk and habits of life of his generally rather disreputable characters. But the controlling interest of his novels is moral and critical, moral in the social, not the metaphysical sense. He tells us a great deal about contemporary teenagers, not because his young and unheroic hero of *Absolute Beginners* is a "typical London lad" in the sense of being an *average* working-class boy, but in the deeper sense of his being an extreme example of general and typical tendencies. No teenager is as articulate as this boy any more than any barber was as articulate as Figaro, but to read *Absolute Beginners* is to get a better and more compassionate understanding not just of the delinquent and problem kids but even of young Johnnie-just-under-one's-nose.

Brecht's Galileo

It has been left to Bernard Miles at the little Mermaid Theatre to produce Brecht's *Galileo* for the first time in Britain. The enterprise deserves not only congratulations but audiences. For this is one of the great plays of our time and of the future. Like Shaw's *Saint Joan* it deals with the past without mustiness; but it is a greater play than *Saint Joan* to just the degree that Brecht's understanding of history and of men and women was more profound than Shaw's. No one but a Marxist could have written *Galileo* and this is true not just of the general view of history put forward in the play but of its most personal insights and artistic impact.

Galileo is about a great scientist and his contribution to knowledge; it is also about the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the relation of theory to practice, the responsibility of the intellectual for society and the power and the role of the state. At the same time it is about an individual man's strength and weakness, about the tragedy of his daughter's life, about his friends' confidence and disappointment, about the power of corruption and the force of heroism. With Brecht doing and thinking go together. No problem is an abstract one. He is sometimes

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presented by his detractors, and even by his admirers, as though he wished to exclude emotion from his plays and to turn the theatre into a debating hall or public meeting.

But a good Brecht play is as moving, as exciting, as entertaining as any other great play—only we are not allowed to wallow. Instead of "losing ourselves" in the play as an alternative to life we are asked to make a minimum of separation between fantasy and reality. Instead of getting some sort of vicarious satisfaction by "identifying ourselves" with one character we are asked to pay each character the same respect we pay our friends, and to consider each situation with the same sort of concern we should bring to the actual problems of life. And in this way we become, at the same time, as objective as possible, and as involved as we ought to be, without contradiction between the two. Brecht is more partisan than other dramatists because he is more objective; and because he makes us think—not on the basis of abstractions but of observed experience—he leads us to act, and to act responsibly.

Zoltan Kodaly Visits Britain

During the month of June, the doyen composer of Hungary, Zoltan Kodaly, visited Britain. Kodaly, together with Bela Bartok, the leading figures in the development of the Hungarian National School of music during the present century and teacher of nearly all the Hungarian composers of any rank today, came here to receive the Doctorate of Music of Oxford University. He conducted some of his works at the Royal Festival Hall on June 3rd, and received a tremendous ovation from the public.

Among other activities Kodaly has been the leading figure in the musical education in the primary and secondary schools of Hungary for many years. He introduced there the system (English) of Tonic Solfa as a method of learning musical notation and of ear-training. His experiments in training so-called "tone-deaf children" are becoming famous. It is significant that a musician who enjoys such respect and even love from the musical public here, should be one who has consistently advocated the principles of national style as a necessary ingredient in musical art today. In this he is in agreement with the theoretical principles of our own Vaughan Williams, and also of the Soviet musicologist Asaviev, whose theory of "intonation" implies national style as a necessary factor in the creation of realistic musical expression and therefore of sincere musical art.

Crisis of Manchester's Hallé Orchestra

The publication of the book *Chords and Discords* in June by a former viola player in the Hallé Orchestra, Mr. Malcolm Tillis, has focused attention on the chaotic conditions which prevail in the organisation of this orchestra. One of the most curious features of the case is the fact that the Arts Council subsidy for the season 1958-59 was only £12,000, whereas four out of the seven subsidised orchestras received substantially more, in one case more than double this amount. At the same time the Hallé Orchestra gave more concerts in comparison with the most highly subsidised orchestra, the Scottish National, and eighty-seven more concerts during this season than any other subsidised orchestra. During the last few years seventy-four members have left the orchestra and nervous breakdowns are frequent. The Management Committee is said to be entirely out of touch with the players and is accused of "absolute commercialism" which is ruining the artistic standards of the orchestra. The Management does not include a single member of the orchestra; all are independent of music for their livelihood.

This incredibly undemocratic state of affairs in an orchestra receiving Arts Council financial support (i.e. tax-payers' money) is a matter for which the Arts Council cannot be considered lacking in responsibility.

In the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Arts Council it is stated that:

> "No major crises occurred during the year [1958-59], but it would be folly to suggest that the financial position of any symphony orchestra presents an unclouded picture".

This statement, especially in view of the title of the Report, which is "The Struggle for Survival" as opposed to the complacent title of the previous Report, "A New Pattern of Patronage", might perhaps be described as an under-statement. It would appear that the new patrons, i.e. the prestige advertisers of the monopoly capitalist concerns, have not proved very lavish.

Television—Cultural

Just as the sound radio has helped to create faithful audiences for "good" music, so television is helping to extend the popularity of ballet, opera, literature and other forms of culture. As might be expected, the B.B.C., who pioneered the popularising of non-"pop" music, and who do not have the same restraints of commercial interest, is often more consistent with such programmes on TV.

Naturally, I.T.V. as well as the B.B.C. makes great show of its cultural programmes—apart

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from their face value, they have distinctive prestige value. But without engaging, for the moment, in the battle as to who is to control the TV networks, we would like to glance at one particularly praiseworthy B.B.C. series, due to restart in the autumn. "Monitor" has been running for two years, usually on alternate Sunday evenings, and evidence of its growing popularity is seen in the fact that the time of transmission has been put rather earlier in the evening.

The programme usually consists of three items, often with a topical flavour. Earlier this year this general pattern was broken in one edition devoted entirely to Orson Welles.

The presiding personality of the programme, Huw Weldon, is an interviewer with a difference —he does not put his subjects in the witness-box of a TV star chamber in the approved Woodrow Wyatt manner. Just the opposite—he actually appears to like the people he interviews, to have a genuine knowledge of their work, and to understand how they think. He sees his role as to draw out the essence of the subjects' personality, methods and thinking. For some items Weldon hands over to others, who take a look at the work of some artist or visit a musician at work and at home; these items are usually filmed ones, taking the viewers on occasions to foreign lands. The same attitude of friendliness towards the subjects is also seen in these filmed items, though this does not prevent a leavening of satire, as, for example, in a delightful dig at the hi-fi sound enthusiasts.

A filmed item in the last "Monitor" programme of the summer showed the miners' brass band competition held annually at Bedlington in Northumberland. Filmed by Ken Russell, it gave the appearance of the true atmosphere of a part of the miners' traditions; it did not try to conceal the political nature of the event, and proceeded to show the Labour banners, emblazoned proudly with the vision of socialism for this country. Unlike normal TV tradition there were no side cracks on the commentary at this point.

The same Sunday evening's "Monitor" devoted about thirty minutes to Picasso—an extract from a film of the great artist at work, a view of some of his many styles of painting and an interview with John Berger.

Some of these special "Monitor" films are being repeated during the later part of the summer, before the new series starts in the autumn.

Such a programme as "Monitor" is particularly significant, coming at a time when so much of TV is devoted to physical violence and to vulgarity. It is an indication of a trend of thought within certain sections of the TV trade. Equally interesting is that, despite the fact that it comes from the B.B.C., it shows no signs of being "establishment-ridden". It gives encouragement to those writers and producers in TV who believe that the public will respond to good straight culture that is not gimmicked-up to make it appear palatable.

Television—Commercial

The Independent Television Authority recently decided that the amount of advertising "spots" allowed in any single hour should be reduced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ minutes in September and to seven minutes at the end of 1960. As the *Financial Times* remarked, this has focused attention on the main problem of those who sell TV space to advertisers—the great discrepancy in demand by advertisers between peak viewing hours and off-peak periods. The general limit on "spot" commercials (which definition excludes advertising magazine programmes) is still six minutes per hour on average over the whole period of transmission time. But because demand for advertising space is concentrated on the peak viewing period of 7.30 to 10.30 p.m., the amount of time devoted to commercials in this period is well above the average.

The *Financial Times* estimated that, in theory, a financial loss to the TV contracts of the I.T.A.'s reducing the permissible maximum advertising in any hour is at least £5 million a year. However, the I.T.A.'s announcement was quickly followed by announcements from the individual programme contractors of increased rates. The *Financial Times* notes some evidence, however, that advertisers are beginning to take a less "quantitative" and a more "qualitative" view of the audience. While the size of the audience is still the dominant consideration, an off-peak commercial may reach the desired group of viewers. Teenagers, for instance, tend to view more on Friday than on any other evening, and car-owners form a bigger proportion of the audience in the late evenings, after the peak period.

A spokesman for A.B.C. TV has commented dryly:

> "Four million people viewing a commercial on television at one time—and someone calls it off-peak. . . . Because there is a peak, there has to be off-peak, and so people start setting emotional and often illogical standards as to where their commercials should appear" (Bob Norris, in *Television Mail*, 17.6.60).

A week later, the same trade paper carried an explanation of the new increased rates for commercials on Associated Television by Patrick Henry, pointing out prominently that of greater importance than the rise in rates was the fact

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that A.T.V.'s new rate was guaranteed for nearly one and a half years. A.T.V. claim that by fixing rates for "such an unprecedently long period in advance" they are making the first serious attempt by any major contractor at introducing stability to the industry, enabling advertisers to engage in long-range planning.

It also shows belief that no major alterations are contemplated in the present set-up of TV for a while. Further evidence of this is seen in the successful tactics of the B.B.C. in countering the I.T.A.'s request to the Postmaster-General for extra hours of commercial TV. This would be a big blow to the B.B.C., who without a larger amount of the public's licence fees, would not be able to find money easily for extra programmes.

The I.T.A.'s original approach was made in June 1958. The TV Act permits the Postmaster-General to fix hours, but he has now declined to exercise this power, preferring to side-step the request and refer it to the Government Committee of Inquiry, when that is appointed, so probably delaying the question for a further two years.

Dead and Dumb Sciences

Professor Hampshire in reviewing some recent books on economics and political philosophy complains that these sciences have fallen either "dead or dumb" and are unable to do more than repeat the old commonplaces of the last fifty years. This is an alarming prospect in a world in such rapid transition. Medical science is not dead, physics and chemistry are not dumb, what is the matter with the social sciences? What paralysis has overtaken them? Is it not clear that the deadness and dumbness of political philosophy is due to a refusal to analyse human society in such a manner that the *interactions* between economic, social and political phenomena are clearly exposed. So long as the economists keep themselves to themselves and the political scientists steer clear of economic analyses there is little chance of life returning to the dry bones of political science.

The trouble is, of course, that they are far too discreet to admit that Marx was right in all this; but so long as they persist in persuading one another that he is out of date, so long will they remain dead and dumb.

Towards 100% Trade Unionism: Some problems and prospects

Dennis Goodwin

APART from reports of courageous and often successful actions at job level to secure 100 per cent trade union membership (the E.T.U. struggle at Ford's Dagenham plant; many building jobs; Magnet joinery, etc.), not much has been written recently on the prospects, problems and line of attack on the whole question of non-unionism in Britain.

No one who understands the character of the trade unions as class organisations of the workers can be indifferent to this complex but tremendously important problem. The last major statement on the perspective was made by Harry Pollitt at the 1954 National Congress of the Communist Party, when he asked if it was not possible for the trade union movement in this country to set its sights at a membership of 15 million. In doing so, he pointed out what a tremendous change such a development would bring about, in strengthening working-class organisation, raising class consciousness and lifting up the struggle to end Tory rule.

As long as many millions of workers have not been brought into trade union membership, they have not taken the first essential step towards recognising their class interests as opposed to those of the employing class. In such a position, millions of workers remain more susceptible to Tory ideas, seek individual solutions to their problems, and objectively weaken the whole front of working-class struggle.

The Present Position

In a few weeks time, Sir Vincent Tewson, in his final appearance as General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, will get up on the first morning of congress to announce the figures of affiliated membership for the year. While some unions will show a small increase, others will show small decreases.

The hard facts will be—no major advance. And not only in 1960. There has been no great leap forward in T.U. membership since 1945, but as can be seen from Table I, signs of stagnation and in some respects, decline.

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TABLE I*

T.U.C. AFFILIATED MEMBERSHIP 1949-59

	Total T.U. Membership. (Affiliated to T.U.C.)	*Total Insured Population*	*Per cent in T.U.C. Unions*
1949 ..	7,937,091	22,250,000	35.5
1959 ..	8,176,252	24,760,000	33.0

* All figures used in this article taken from T.U.C. Annual Reports M.o.L. Gazette; *Monthly Digest of Statistics.*

In ten years—including a majority of years of full employment with T.U. potential bargaining power at its highest—T.U. membership in relation to the total insured population has declined by 2.5 per cent.[1]

On the basis of these figures, Sir Vincent should say his farewells at Douglas in a minor key, but of far greater importance is the challenge they represent for the movement as a whole: a growing working population; trade union membership not keeping pace; above all, the existence of some 15 million non-unionists eligible for trade union membership.

The "Black Spots" Theory

The theory is sometimes advanced that the problem of non-unionism is a specialised one, i.e. that it is confined—as a serious problem—only, or overwhelmingly, to certain industries, or to women, or to youth, or the unskilled. While there are undoubtedly *special* problems, the fact has to be faced (see Table II) that non-unionism is a problem for *all industries, all unions*, all parts of the country and sections of the movement.

[1] These figures do not allow for T.U. membership outside of the T.U.C., e.g. teachers, local government workers, etc. But even if allowed for, they do not change the basic trend revealed.

The view that the problem is only one for certain unions also needs examination. In the past ten years, the total insured population has *increased* by 11 per cent. While, of course, this has been uneven from industry to industry and affected particularly by new techniques (in some industries far more so than is generally believed), it is useful to see what has happened to the membership of the ten biggest unions in the T.U.C. which give detailed figures (Table III).

TABLE III

Union	*Membership* 1952	*Membership* 1959	*Per cent plus/minus*
N.U.M. ..	640,824	674,088	+5
N.U.R. ..	397,141	355,440	−11
T.G.W.U.	1,276,567	1,224,588	−4
A.E.U. ..	795,752	888,363*	+12
E.T.U. ..	196,056	230,136	+17
A.S.W. ..	197,171	195,259	−1
N.U.P.B.W.	128,302	149,630	+16
U.S.D.A.W.	345,990	353,131	+2
U.P.W. ..	160,908	165,487	+3
N.U.G.M.W.	808,238	774,940	−4

* Including a small amalgamation

Thus four of the ten biggest unions in Congress show an absolute decline in membership and only three show an increase greater than the average increase in the working population. It is noteworthy that the biggest increase of all is in the Electrical Trades Union which has borne the brunt of the attack of the employers, the capitalist press and the right-wing leaders, some of whose unions show a decrease in membership.

What does all this show? Trade unionism is not keeping pace with the growth of the working population. With few exceptions, no substantial inroads are being made into non-unionism. The need for a

TABLE II

T.U. ORGANISATION BY INDUSTRY (T.U.C. GROUPINGS)

Industry	*T.U. Membership* (1958)	*Total Insured Workers* (1959)	*Per cent Organised*
Mining, Quarrying	716,927	838,010	86
Engineering, Founding, Vehicle Building	1,517,113	2 309,700	65
Shipbuilding, Repair	130,726	280,840	44
Iron, Steel, etc.	208,699	582,190	36
Building, Wood, Furniture	542,222	1,718,960	32
Print, Paper	326,766	573,590	56
Textiles	228,114	854,900	27
Clothing	163,848	439,660	37
Agriculture	135,000	605,300	22
Distributive, Glass, Pottery, Food, Drink, etc.	470,689	2,539,320	19
Railways	508,200	(600,000)*	83
Leather, Boot and Shoe	101,144	178,040	56
Public Employees (inc. C.S.)	743,081	1,572,850	48

* Estimated to include workshops etc.

(Non-manual and general workers' comparative figures not available)

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fresh and determined attack is urgent and is emphasised by the new problems arising not only from Tory policy but from technical developments and changes in industry.

Changes in Industry

In his short, but extremely valuable book on trade unionism, recently published,[2] Jim Gardiner summarised some of the main changes that have taken place in industry, their effect on the structure of the working class and the new problems they raise for trade unionism.

In engineering and other manufacturing industries, the use of computers and the transfer line is leading to an extension of automation and major increases in productivity. Pre-casting, new materials, tower cranes, powered hand-tools, pre-mixing of concrete, etc. are revolutionising the building industry. The number of workers in the railway industry is already showing a significant decline as diesels and electric come into operation accompanied by automatic signalling and shunting. Major changes are taking place in textiles and in the docks.

Alongside these developments, new industries have come into being and expanded at a tremendous rate, such as plastics and man-made fibres. Perhaps most outstanding of all has been the change in accounting and clerical operations.

These developments are breaking down the old craft divisions and outlook and bringing about a significant reduction in many industries of the number of workers at the point of production and an increase in those engaged in ancillary operations.

The extent of these changes can be seen in Table IV which follows. In the relatively short period of six years, the labour force in agriculture has *declined* by 22 per cent, vehicles also 22 per cent (in spite of the big increase in production), clothing and footwear 20 per cent, textiles 19 per cent, railways and mining by 13 per cent, road passenger transport by 12 per cent. On the other hand, distribution has increased by 21 per cent, banking, finance and insurance by 16 per cent, engineering and electrical and paper, print and publishing by 12 per cent.

The changes in techniques have generally meant a greater integration between all stages in the production process and consequently greater industrial power in the hands of those at the point of production. This has been most vividly shown, for example, in the motor industry in recent years. Alongside this, however, has been the development of large and growing sections of unorganised or poorly-organised workers.

New problems of trade union leadership and policy are crying out for attention. Agreements negotiated in a previous period with a different relation of forces, no longer measure up to trade union needs. Procedural agreements, such as the York Memorandum in engineering, the Working Rule Agreement in the building industry, are out of all accord with present-day possibilities. The Wages Council's machinery has been more and more used by the

[2] *Key Questions for Trade Unionists*, Jim Gardiner, Lawrence & Wishart.

TABLE IV

CHANGES IN STRUCTURE OF WORKING CLASS

Industry	*No. of Insured Workers* 1953	1959	*Per cent plus/minus*
Agriculture	765,400	605,300	−22
Vehicles	1,114,030	866,680	−22
Clothing and Footwear	688,510	553,620	−20
Textiles	1,044,800	854,900	−19
Mining and Coal	885,490	767,640	−13
Railways	533,940	466,890	−13
Road Passenger	310,000	274,750	−12
Food, Drink, Tobacco	874,570	797,960	−9
Public Administration and Defence	1,374,550	1,261,920	−9
Timber, Furniture	300,950	284,810	−5
Docks and Inland Water	157,770	152,720	−3
Gas and Electricity	381,620	377,650	−1
Distribution	2,268,630	2,741,460	+21
Shipbuilding	232,840	280,840	+20
Banking, Finance, Insurance	452,080	530,800	+16
Engineering and Electrical	1,735,410	1,929,620	+12
Paper, Print, Publishing	514,780	573,590	+12
Metal Manufacture	556,370	582,190	+5
Chemicals and Allied	493,390	521,980	+5
Building Construction	1,378,050	1,434,150	+5
Road Haulage	178,570	184,040	+4
Postal and Telecommunication	307,080	310,730	+1
Total *all* workers	21,347,000	21,870,000	+2.5

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employers to help keep wage advances to a minimum.

British trade unionism has probably never experienced a more favourable position than that of the past decade so far as the possibilities of improving wages and conditions and making great advances in organising the unorganised are concerned. Increased fighting strength at the point of production; labour shortage in many industries; willingness and capacity of the workers to wage the industrial struggle whenever leadership is given; all these factors should have made possible giant strides forward in trade union membership, organising and fighting capacity. The failure of such an advance to take place arises from a combination of the measures taken by the employing class and the refusal of the right-wing leaders to pursue policies that would have opened the doors to advance.

The employers have used so-called "contra-cyclical" economics in their endeavour to counter the rising wages movement by credit squeeze and other means of increasing unemployment. Their tactics have been to try to prevent, at all costs, the coming together of the main sections of the working class and to deal with the wages movement section by section, avoiding an all-out showdown which they might lose, by compromises at what they regarded as the most favourable moment. The wages machinery and procedural agreements have been used to delay wage claims, to victimise shop stewards and active trade unionists wherever they could get away with it and to use the powerful propaganda weapons at their disposal to develop antagonism between different sections of workers and to try to build up an anti-trade union atmosphere in the country as a whole.

In all this, the right-wing leaders have acquiesced and indeed, often set the pace. A Minister of Labour in a Labour Government was the first after the war, to put the troops into the docks to try to break the strike. The desertion of the London busmen by the General Council of the T.U.C., the attacks on the so-called "wild cat" strikes, the persecution of the E.T.U., the refusal on countless occasions to use trade union strength to protect the shop stewards, above all, the subordination of the fight for higher wages, the forty-hour week and improved working conditions to capitalist economic interests, have played a major part in throwing away a tremendous opportunity for trade union advance.

Such policies are at the root of the stagnation in trade union membership of recent years. The ending of that stagnation cannot be entrusted to those responsible for it. If there is to be any major advance, the lead must come from those who want to see trade unionism in action as the pioneers conceived it, defending and advancing the interests of the members at the expense of the employer and employing class. The time is more than ripe, the need long overdue for a discussion throughout the trade union movement on what should be done and how to do it. No person or organisation has a monopoly of wisdom on this complex but vital question. And the suggestions which follow represent only an attempt to sketch out some of the problems and lines of solution as they appear to the writer.

A Working Class Policy—Essential Base for Advance

Trade unionism made its biggest advances in Britain when it was fighting for the workers' interests, boldly challenging the existing level of wages and conditions, championing the unskilled and semi-skilled as well as the skilled, combining work on the day-to-day bread and butter issues with activity on the wider issues of working-class concern and more fundamental aims.

The great struggles for the "New Unionism" in the last decades of the last century; the upsurge in the years immediately preceding the First World War; the fervour of the post-war years; the big leap forward of the 1939-48 period under the impetus of the war against fascism and the hopes of the post-war years—these were the periods of greatest advance in membership.

There is no substitute for such an approach. Many unions today conduct extensive publicity, issue literally hundreds of different leaflets with the most "modern" advertising techniques, laid out by experts. U.S.D.A.W. is an example of such a union. Its publicity material is excellently prepared. Over 100 different recruiting leaflets were on display to delegates at its recent annual conference. Yet in 1958, 100,000 workers joined the union and 98,000 left it, showing a net gain of only 2 per cent. The union's wages policy, its ability or preparedness to use its strength to advance working conditions, were insufficient to prove that trade union membership was worth while to the thousands who came in—and left.

The E.T.U. shows the biggest increase in membership consistently over the years, not just because of expansion in the industries in which it organises, but because its policy, activity, organisation has been directed and co-ordinated to a single aim—serving the members, helping them to act in unison to make economic and political advances.

Higher wages now; the forty-hour week without loss of pay; all-round improvements in working conditions; drastic reductions in industrial accidents; longer holidays at average earnings; pensions and sick pay schemes in tune with modern living standards; protection against dismissals; modern techniques to lighten the burden of labour not to put workers onto the dole queue or into lower-paid jobs; improved apprenticeship training; the strength

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of the unions to be used for the anti-Tory struggle, for nationalisation, for tackling the pressing social problems of the day, housing, health, education—these are the slogans of action on which millions can be attracted to trade unionism and a new major advance made. Legal aid; sickness benefits; representation on this or that Government or Council committee—all are useful, but do not make up a policy on which trade unionism will grow. Trade unionism has a far greater part to play than to see its main job as competing with provident societies and the Citizens Advice Bureau.

On the Job and in the Branch

The factory, depot, pit, mill, office, or store, is the basis of trade union activity and trade union advance. It is here where the main prospects for initiating advance exist, here where the base is for any successful fight to formulate and to achieve success for progressive policies. In a period when there is not large-scale unemployment it is on the job that workers have the power to force concessions over and above the national agreements from the employers, and to use their strength to support the struggles to improve such national agreements.

Trade unionism is a living force on the job, and in most industries the shop stewards' movement has grown and become strengthened in the course of job struggles. The shop stewards are the corner-stone for trade union advance, the cadres active each and every day among the masses, and upon whose work —successful or unsuccessful—the workers' view of trade unionism will to a very large extent depend. Look for the strong, democratically functioning, shop stewards' committee and there you will find 100 per cent trade union membership.

One would think then that the shop steward would be the "apple of their eye" for the union executives and district committees, and indeed for some that is so. But for some, and for some in the General Council of the T.U.C., he is the villain of the piece, the man who makes things awkward, who always expects action and support from the leadership, who won't toe the line. So his activities are to be "inquired into", his functions are to be limited; he must not on pain of excommunication, communicate with or meet together with his colleagues in other factories. If he is victimised then "procedure" must be gone through, and the steward goes up the road while the machine grinds on—unless his mates engage in the to-be-anathematised crime of "unofficial action".

Protection of shop stewards to the maximum that is possible; the greatest possible encouragement for their work; regular meetings on at least a monthly basis in each district or town; meetings between stewards in different unions in each industry; co-operation between factories with common problems; measures to help train stewards for the job they have to do; full facilities for stewards to do their work to be incorporated in the national agreements; these constitute the sort of steps needed to raise the status of the steward and make it possible for him or her to do their job in the most effective possible manner. Perhaps no single practical step would do more to open the gates to a flood of new trade unionists than this.

Yet it has to be said that trade unionists in the best organised jobs have a large part of the solution to achieving these advances in their own hands. A negative feature of the post-war years has been the way in which ability to achieve advances at factory level has tended often to result in a "factory self-sufficiency" which sees only the factory and abandons responsibility for policy and leadership in the unions as a whole. Contrast, for example, the keen struggles at factory level with the low level of trade union branch attendances, the proportion of members voting in trade union elections or using their democratic rights, in those unions where they exist, to formulate national policy through the union conferences and pressure on the executives.

Factory self-sufficiency is an illusion whatever the immediate gains may have been in this or that job. It depends entirely on full employment, and what has been won in a decade of relative boom can be lost overnight in different economic conditions. The "factory only" outlook can perhaps under certain conditions, raise wages but it cannot do anything effective to stop rents rising, the social services being cut, Tory taxation policy from being implemented; denationalisation taking place or made to serve capitalist interests.

But perhaps even more important, apathy in relation to the trade union machine and apparatus enables the right wing to entrench and to use the union machine against the interests of the workers and on behalf of the employers. Basically, self sufficiency is an outlook of exclusiveness, bars the way to trade union advance and is one of the factors making for stagnation in membership.

To the extent that the shop stewards help workers to take the wider view, see the class responsibilities of trade unionism, counter the penetration of capitalist ideas into the factory, help them to go to their trade union branches and seek to win branch support for the progressive policies discussed and adopted on the job and to vote for trade unionists who will fight for such policies—to that extent self-sufficiency is overcome and the way opened to really tremendous changes.

Structure

A thorough and widespread discussion is needed,

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and followed by the necessary changes, on the growing gap between the place of work and the place of the trade union branch meeting. Especially in the big towns and cities, the trade union branch has tended to become more and more remote from the place of work, as the growth of the towns take the workers' homes further and further away from their job. Progress is urgently needed towards basing the trade union branch on the place of work wherever it is possible to do so, and will help to close the gap between the job and the trade union branch.

A Co-ordinated Effort

Non-unionism is not just a matter of concern for each particular union. It is a vital matter for the entire movement, and all sections, well or badly organised, are affected by it. That is why the efforts of each particular union need to be supplemented by co-ordinated activity of all sections of the movement. A recent campaign in West London, where a considerable number of trade union district committees and trades councils jointly organised a special trade union recruiting campaign in a centre of non-unionism, achieved some remarkable results, especially among the young workers, and showed what could be done.

The trades councils have a leading part to play in this, as indeed they once did. Part of the very heavy price paid for right-wing control and imposed bans on trades councils in so many places has been the lessening or disappearance of their role as co-ordinating centres for the fight for 100 per cent trade union organisation, and this position needs to be vigorously challenged.

Special Sections

Reference has already been made to the changes taking place in the structure of the working class arising from the development of new techniques and processes. One of the outstanding changes is the growth in the numbers of administrative and technical personnel and their organisation into the unions becomes a major question for the future of the movement.

Recently the *World Marxist Review* published figures prepared by the Editorial Board of this journal, illustrating this tendency in Britain (Table V).

Many other industries would show at least comparable figures.

TABLE V

GROWTH IN THE PERCENTAGE OF TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES

	1951	1954	1957
Petroleum Refining	24.8	25.1	27.1
Steel	12.4 (1950)		16.6 (1959)
Radio and Telecommunication	23.3	24.9	26.4

The figures quoted on distribution show the enormous number of workers employed and the low degree of trade union organisation. The increased demand for clerical labour, even though to some extent temporary, has been accompanied by a major development of mechanisation, with clerical workers in increasing numbers becoming machine minders, machine operators or machine feeders, often working with as much physical effort as in many factories and under conditions sometimes worse than in a modern factory.

The employing class always make intense efforts to bind these sections of workers to them, to get them to identify their interests with those of the capitalist class. All the more reason for a fresh and determined effort to make a fresh break through to win them for trade unionism and common struggle alongside the industrial workers. Is it beyond the bounds of possibility for the unions organising these workers to begin to come together at national, district and local level to set about such a job, with the assistance of the industrial unions? Certainly the results would repay every effort made. Could we not begin, too, to consider again as previous generations of trade unionists did, what assistance can be given from the unions based on the towns to helping extend trade union organisation among agricultural workers and in the countryside generally?

Trade Union Unity

One can hardly begin to consider what arises from these questions without being compelled to face up to the problem of trade union unity and amalgamation, essential for strengthening of the movement and to provide a powerful attractive force around which organisation could be extended. The breakdown of the print union amalgamation negotiations recently and the generally extremely limited progress in recent years (there has been no major amalgamation since the formation of the N.U.M. after the war) highlights the problem. Yet the new developments in industry, automation, techniques, materials, are putting amalgamation on the agenda as never before. As long as amalgamation is resisted, postponed, shelved, because of this or that practical difficulty or vested interest, then unity will be replaced by competition between union and union, division, disunity and weakness. The prospects of unity of the boilermakers and blacksmiths, between the English and Scottish painters, the recently accomplished amalgamation between sheet metal workers and coppersmiths are hopeful signs, but a large-scale advance is needed.

Bans and Proscriptions

For any union to have the aim of 100 per cent organisation while imposing bans on some of its

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best and most active members is belying in deeds what it is saying in words. The bans in the several unions in which they remain are anti-communism, and anti-communism is the aim of the employers and employing class. Hundreds of thousands of transport and other workers covered by the T.G.W.U. need to be brought into the union, yet many of the most active and devoted members of that union are barred from making their full contribution to help bring this about. So, too, among the seamen, the boot and shoe workers, the general and municipal workers, and in a partial way, in the C.A.W.U. and the A.S.W. The A.E.U. National Committee in refusing even to consider a proposition to prevent Communists from paying the political levy and thus to prevent them from participating in the political work of the union, showed its deep understanding of the harmful character of the bans. Trade union advance and bans cannot go hand-in-hand. The bans are worth millions to the employers. That is why they do all in their power to keep them and to help all the most reactionary sections of trade union leadership to extend them.

The Communist Contribution

The Communists have always been in the forefront of the fight for 100 per cent trade unionism as an indispensable need for developing working-class unity and fighting strength. It is the trade unions which unite the largest number of workers, at the point of production and in the decisive industries. The forty years' history of the Party is a proud record of service to trade unionism and the main statements of the Party, its pamphlets, memoranda and daily leads have striven to give a constructive lead for the growth and strengthening of trade unionism at every stage. Communists have given leading service as trade unionists and in many unions have won the support, confidence and trust of the majority of the active members. They share in the shop stewards' work and in the running of the union branches and districts. Communists strive in their work as trade unionists, to bring about the greatest unity of the workers; to lift up class understanding and political understanding. They see the growth of trade unionism as an essential part of the advance to socialism and a society in which trade unions will really come into their own.

They cannot be indifferent to the present position of stagnation on trade union membership, and seek the widest discussion throughout the movement on how it can be broken through. This article is an attempt at a contribution to that discussion which needs to extend to all levels of the movement.

Socialist Aid to Underdeveloped Countries*

Jack Woddis

WITH the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America making such giant strides in their march to independence, the question of their economic reorganisation and progress becomes one of the central questions of our time, not only for the countries in these areas but for the whole capitalist world no less than for the socialist world.

The imperialist powers regard the question of the economically underdeveloped areas of the world merely in terms of the "cold war", of keeping these countries "with the West", by which they mean maintaining them as fields for imperialist exploitation, and as military and political bases. Even their apparent readiness, in some cases, to reach agreement with the newly developing national movements, and, if forced, to make political concessions, are motivated by these same designs. Nothing makes this more clear than Macmillan's famous "wind of change" speech, a speech the full meaning and flavour of which has been lost in a deluge of slush from government supporters and right-wing Labour leaders about Britain's allegedly new, *liberal* approach to Africa.

This is what Macmillan actually said :

> "The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago, is of the strength of this African national consciousness. In different places it may take different forms, but it is happening everywhere. *The wind of change is blowing through the continent.*
>
> *"Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact. We*

*This article, which deals with certain aspects of Soviet economic assistance to underdeveloped countries, is based on a chapter of a book on Africa now in preparation.

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must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it . . . I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so, we may imperil the precarious balance of East and West . . . As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or to the West. Will they be drawn into the Communist camp?"

To keep Africa on the side of the "West" and away "from communism" means to maintain Africa in the imperialist camp. Precisely the same attitude is taken by the American, French, West German and other imperialist powers—an attitude which they do not confine to Africa, of course, but to the whole non-socialist camp.

Such an approach precludes the possibility of imperialist countries giving genuine aid for the economic development of the newly independent states.

When talking about "aid", the imperialist powers lump together loans (at high interest rates), investments, military equipment, dumping of surplus (and often shoddy or mouldy) goods, etc., under one general heading, and contrast this "amount" of aid with the amount provided by the U.S.S.R. and by other socialist countries. The amount of aid, in fact, which is already being provided by the socialist countries is already considerable; and what is more, it is growing rapidly and would grow even more if the Soviet Union's proposals for complete world disarmament were put into effect.

But even more important, at this stage, than "how much" is "what kind". Aid is really only of value to the "underdeveloped" countries if it helps them to overcome their underdevelopment and to become fully developed countries, economically speaking.

Underdevelopment

What is "underdevelopment"? What is its cause? What are its effects?

It is by answering these questions that we shall best be in a position to see who is really helping the underdeveloped countries. If we look at these countries the first thing that strikes one is that all of them, whether they are under the direct political rule of the Western imperialist powers, or whether they have won, to one degree or another, political independence, have an economy which is basically colonial.[1]

They are compelled by imperialist economic might to serve as raw material appendages for Western industry and Western food consumption. Their valuable mineral wealth—oil, gold, diamonds, copper, iron ore, manganese, cobalt, tin, silver, bauxite, and so on—as well as their food and industrial crops, are shipped to the West, for consumption by Western industry and trade. Underdeveloped countries have little, or no, industry of their own. Usually only the preliminary processing of raw materials is done on the spot, while the final industrial use of the material is reserved for the metropolitan countries. Thus these countries are prevented from producing for themselves the manufactured goods which they require, but must buy from other sources, usually the imperialist countries. As a result the underdeveloped countries are forced to give up their natural riches to the imperialists at the lowest possible price, but have to pay correspondingly higher prices for the goods the imperialist powers dump on them. Imperialist ownership of trade, shipping, banking and insurance all helps to preserve this economic relationship.

In short, the underdeveloped countries are deliberately held back by imperialism, so as not to be able to compete, and are thus maintained as a source of "super-profits" for the Western powers.

Under these conditions, the accumulation of capital by the peoples of the underdeveloped countries proceeds slowly and on a relatively small scale. Local agriculture stagnates or deteriorates, unable to provide funds for machines, seeds, fertilisers, pest-killing chemicals, or for large-scale irrigation, afforestation, land-clearance or drainage of swamps. On the land, in building, transport, forestry, even frequently in the mines the most common machine is the human body, hands, feet, shoulders, back, and sometimes head being pressed into service to carry goods or to mould raw materials with the simplest of tools. Extreme poverty, disease, illiteracy, squalid slums are the natural accompaniments of such an economic base.

Such is the outcome of colonial rule—and even in those countries where political independence has been established, the heritage of colonial rule remains the major obstacle to economic advance; and while imperialist monopolies still hold the commanding heights of economic power, there is little chance of breaking through the barriers of "underdevelopment" unless an energetic challenge is made to these monopolies and their economic power taken away—either in one fell swoop, or by stages, depending on the internal and external circumstances.

The Soviet Union, and now China, have shown that the quickest and most successful way out of

[1] China, of course, is not included in this category, since she has already left the ranks of the underdeveloped countries—thanks to her socialist system—and is rapidly heading to a position among the more economically developed countries in the world. In fact, China herself is already aiding underdeveloped countries!

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underdevelopment is to leap over into socialism. This has not yet been possible for many underdeveloped states, for a variety of reasons, and they therefore have great difficulty in getting on their feet. Thus aid to underdeveloped countries is a very real need.

Industrialisation the Key

Aid, if it is to be effective, must help to destroy the old colonial pattern of economy. *And the key to doing this is to industrialise.* The Soviet Union, which, through its own experience, has proved the correctness of this contention, is willing to assist other countries making progress in the same manner. The Western powers, in contrast, look with disfavour on the newly independent states trying to build up their economies.

"Many Western economists," pointed out Khrushchov in his speech to the workers at the Bhilai iron and steel works, in India, a project built with Soviet aid, "maintain that such countries as India would do better to renounce industrial development and in the future concentrate on the production of agricultural goods and certain types of minerals, selling them cheaply abroad and importing manufactured goods and equipment at exorbitant prices.

"These 'theories' reflect and seek to substantiate the striving of monopoly capital to perpetuate the warped international division of labour produced by colonialism and dooming hundreds of millions of people to poverty.

"We have always been against such 'theories' and consider that all countries can and should have their own highly developed national industry —the cornerstone of national independence. . . .

"It is only industrialisation that enables countries economically underdeveloped as a result of domination by the colonialists to overcome their backwardness and attain prosperity."[2] [My italics —*J.W.*]

Not all industrial development is industrialisation. The difference is important, because the industrial development which is undoubtedly taking place in many underdeveloped areas of the world with the technical and financial aid of the imperialist powers is, in fact, designed to strengthen the grip of imperialism and step up the economic robbery and exploitation of the country receiving the "aid".

Thus, for example, throughout Africa the imperialists are sinking millions of pounds into developing transport and communications. But this is not to assist Africa. On the contrary, it is intended to make it easier to transport the wealth of Africa to the metropolitan centres of manufacture in Europe and the United States. Heavy Western investments are being made to increase the output of minerals in Africa. This, too, is not to "aid" Africa, but to rob Africa and aid the imperialists. In many parts of Africa the railways run straight from mountains containing valuable mineral ores down to the sea-ports, so that millions of tons of wealth can be shipped away—and the African landscape left flattened and derelict.

Imperialist economists call this robbery "aid" or "industrial development", and even "industrialisation". Scientifically speaking, however, industrialisation means the construction of machines which can produce the means of production; that is to say, machines which can make machines and machine tools, so that a country can manufacture its own main requirements. Such a modern enginering industry must have its base in an iron and steel industry, electric power and chemicals. It is precisely this kind of industrial development which the socialist countries are willing to assist.

The imperialist powers and the socialist powers differ fundamentally on this question. In short, imperialism wants to prevent the underdeveloped countries from becoming industrialised, while the socialist countries favour industrialisation. This means that imperialism wants the underdeveloped countries to remain underdeveloped, while the socialist countries want to assist them to overcome their economic backwardness, and so strengthen their national independence and raise their people's standard of living.

Soviet aid and the Western Powers

The differing attitudes of the Soviet Union and the United States are well illustrated by the example of Pakistan, as a recent American study is constrained to admit:

> "When the government of Pakistan was bitterly split on the question of whether the nation could afford a new steel mill, United States foreign aid officials supported those who argued against undertaking the project at that time. The Russians stepped into the controversy with a grand offer to build and finance a steel mill for the Pakistani people".[3]

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[2] N. S. Khrushchov: *The Soviet Union—Faithful Friend of the Peoples Fighting for Independence:* Speeches during his Asian Tour, February-March, 1960. Soviet Booklet, No. 68, pp. 19-20.

[3] Joseph S. Berliner: *Soviet Economic Aid: The New Aid and Trade Policy in Underdeveloped Countries:* New York, 1958. (Published for the Council on Foreign Relations, a body whose directors include many well-known American business names.) p. 19.

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This example from Pakistan is no isolated one. Equally, if not more striking, is the story of the Aswan High Dam. When Egypt originally asked the West for aid to build the dam, the offers had so many political strings attached that Egypt could not accept. But it was not merely the strings; the Western powers, in fact, were not at all keen to lend funds to assist such an important industrial scheme. When, to assist its economic development, Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal Company, the Western powers launched their attack against Suez. Subsequently, it was the Soviet Union which made an agreement to assist the building of the Aswan High Dam, granting a credit for this purpose of 400 million roubles (over £35 million).[4]

After the first stage of the dam had commenced, the Cairo newspapers reported a shower of tenders from banks and companies in the United States, Britain, Western Germany, Italy and Japan, all offering to finance the second stage! To their surprise and bitter annoyance it was made known in January 1960 that the Soviet Union had accepted the United Arab Republic's invitation to build the second stage of the dam. There were good reasons for the U.A.R.'s attitude. Not only does the Soviet Union provide aid without strings, but as the *Times* correspondent admitted (January 19, 1960), the Soviet technicians introduced considerable modifications to the original Western plans which meant considerable savings to the U.A.R. In fact, the Soviet proposals enabled the costs for the first stage of the dam to be cut 15 per cent and the period for its completion to be cut by one year.

The Soviet Union has also built Egypt its first cotton mill. Hitherto all Egyptian cotton, for which she is world famous, has had to be exported to the mills of other countries. Now Egypt will spin her own cotton. Speaking at the opening of the mill, President Nasser contrasted the refusal of the Western powers to fulfil their original promise to help build the Aswan Dam, with the Soviet Union's fulfilling of its economic agreement "honestly and conscientiously". He added:

> "We did not hear from the Soviet Union any threats of an economic boycott or any words of ridicule because it is rendering us economic assistance".

This new textile mill is staffed by Egyptian engineers, technicians and workers who have been trained by the USSR.

India, too, has learnt the great value of Soviet assistance. The huge iron and steel plant, which the U.S.S.R. has built at Bhilai, carries no political or military strings, nor will the Soviet Union derive profits from it at the expense of the Indian people. The plant belongs to India, who will derive all the profits from its operations. (The same is true, of course, of all plants and undertakings built by the Soviet Union for underdeveloped countries.)

> "In the heart of the Madhya Pradesh region of Central India", writes Berliner,[5] "a great steel mill is rising from the earth. Indian engineers are sharing offices with Soviet engineers who have come to assist in the construction. The machinery and equipment will be brought from the Soviet Union, financed by a generous Soviet credit to the Indian government. *When construction is completed, the Soviet engineers will go home and the plant will belong to the Indian nation, to be run by Indians for the benefit of the Indian national economy.*" [My Italics—*J.W.*]

This plant is already turning out pig-iron (some 300,000 tons in its first year), steel and rolled metal, and is producing coke, electricity, sulphuric acid, resin and fertiliser for agriculture. This year it is starting to manufacture rails, girders, channel bars and high-grade metal.

This is only one of a number of projects in India being built with Soviet aid. And the same type of assistance is being given to other underdeveloped countries.

It has not been lost on such countries that the type of economic aid given by the Soviet Union is a genuine help to economic progress. Ghana, for instance, which has been experiencing great difficulties in obtaining financial and other help from the West to launch the Volta Dam scheme, is understood to have asked the Soviet Union to examine the possibilities of assisting in the construction in Ghana of a steel mill, a petrol refinery, cement works and textile factories.[6]

Forms of Socialist Aid

Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries takes many forms—trade and navigation agreements; the construction of whole plants; the granting of long-term, low-interest credits (2 to 2½ per cent as against the usual 4 to 7 per cent charged by the imperialists);[7] trade and payment agreements

[4] This is only part of the aid granted by the Soviet Union to the United Arab Republic. For the Egyptian region alone some 1,100 million roubles' credits have been granted, apart from credits granted in October, 1957, to the Syrian region.

[5] Joseph S. Berliner: op cit., p. 3.

[6] Fears that Ghana, like the U.A.R., may approach the Soviet Union for help in building the dam, might yet compel the Western powers to stop stalling and to make some offer to assist the Volta scheme.

[7] For example, the $35mn. loan granted by the International Bank to the Gabon Republic to exploit Gabon's manganese deposits (itself, a dubious form of "aid"), is for 15 years at an interest of 6 per cent.

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by which the underdeveloped countries pay in their own currencies and the Soviet Union purchases from the country in question the goods which it wishes to export; and large-scale technical help, including the training of technicans[8], carrying out of surveys, designing projects, provision of patents, blue-prints, scientific advice and equipment.

There are certain other aspects of Soviet aid (and that of other socialist countries) which are important to note. We have already mentioned how socialist aid towards industrialisation helps newly independent states to get on their feet and strengthen their national economy, and hence safeguard their independence. Socialist trade has the same effect. When Ceylon was faced with difficulties over her rubber exports and was in need of rice, China responded by providing rice in exchange for rubber, thus helping Ceylon to avoid having to rely on the imperialist powers at a time when they could have exploited Ceylon's difficulties.

In the same way, the Soviet Union has bought fish from Iceland during this country's recent difficulties with Britain and other imperialist powers. And when Cuba was faced with the United States' threats to cut down her purchases of Cuban sugar, again it was the Soviet Union which offered to make substantial purchases of Cuban sugar, and so assisted the Cuban economy at a time of national danger.

When Guinea declared its independence, the French imperialists took a number of unprecedented steps to bring her to her knees. They removed everything from the country in order to dislocate her administration and economy. They even took criminal records from police stations and health records from hospitals. The socialist countries, when approached, responded to every request to assist the young republic, the Soviet Union with a £12½ million credit, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries with aid in many other forms. Of particular importance has been the new trading relations which Guinea has been able to develop with the socialist countries. An article in the *Ghanaian Monthly* (May 4, 1959) points out that Guinea suffered an imbalance of trade in 1958, before she gained her independence, her imports costing £17,800,000 while her exports earned only £8,700,000. The main reason for this unfavourable balance was the high cost which Guinea had to pay for her imports of French goods, and the artificial over-valuation of the French African franc. Guinea's new trade agreements are changing all this. Sugar imports from the German Democratic Republic, for example, have reduced the price of sugar in Conakry by no less than 75 per cent.

[8] The Soviet Union has now established a special People's Friendship University which will provide university education and technical training for students from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Tuition is free, and all enrolled students will be given scholarship grants, free health services and hostel accommodation, as well as return fare to and from Moscow.

National Sovereignty

Another important feature of socialist aid is that it is based on complete respect for national sovereignty. This is admitted by Berliner, who adds that: "The Soviet leaders ostentatiously refrain from substituting their own judgment for that of the recipients"[9]—an attitude which is in marked contrast to that of the United States which, when granting "aid", usually insists that the recipient country first take certain economic and financial measures (the freezing of wages, raising of prices, devaluation of currency, cuts in social services and so on) which, the United States argues, help to "stabilise" the economy of the recipient country.

Berliner strikingly points out the difference between Soviet economic assistance and Western "aid" in these words:

> "In determining how the money is to be spent, the Soviet negotiators do not require a detailed 'economic justification' of a project as a condition of granting a loan . . . This position is in deliberate contrast to that taken by Western agencies dispensing economic aid."[10]

Consequently, admits Berliner, the Western attitude "kindles resentment and discord", whereas "the Soviet approach receives a much warmer reception."

Resentment at the attempts on the part of the United States to use "aid" schemes in order to interfere in the internal affairs of countries has been sharply expressed by Tunisia's President, Habib Bourguiba. Referring to the opposition of a U.S. "aid" delegation to some of Tunisia's projects as being unworkable, President Bourguiba declared: "But this is a question which is no business of the Americans. Tunisia has its own criteria, which may differ from those of the Americans."[11]

[9] Berliner: op. cit.: p. 15.

[10] Ibid., p. 153.

[11] A national broadcast speech in Tunis, December 10, 1959.

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Similar resentment has been expressed by the Libyan paper, *Fezzan*, which has said:

> "We receive from America a sum of money that we are not allowed to spend as we see fit. The money is channelled to us through uneconomical agencies that keep highly paid foreign employees and fleets of cars."

No wonder the U.S. *Time* magazine admits that "Libyans resent supervision of aid projects by U.S. teams."

If no similar resentment is felt towards Soviet aid, this is undoubtedly because of the fundamentally different character of this assistance and the different way in which it is made available.

Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries is becoming an important factor in their progress. In 1946 Soviet trade with countries in Asia and Africa totalled 281 million roubles; by 1957 it had reached 2,272 million roubles—an eight-fold increase.

Soviet exports of machinery and equipment are particularly important. For the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America they rose steeply from 20 million roubles in 1955 to 346 million roubles in 1957.[12] In 1958, over 95 per cent of total Soviet exports of machinery and equipment to the capitalist world (more than 670 million roubles) went to the underdeveloped countries. Under agreements already in force, the USSR is helping, or will help, in the construction of some 200 industrial enterprises, power stations, irrigation installations and other projects in Asia and Africa. In 1960 alone, the Soviet Union will take part in constructing 95 such enterprises.

The significance of these figures needs little stressing. Former colonial and dependent countries, which hitherto have been compelled to depend for machinery and equipment on the imperialist powers (who are by no means enthusiastic about helping such countries to build up their own, independent and powerful industries), can now turn to alternative sources of supply.

The West, in other words, has lost its monopoly of capital equipment in the world market, just as it has in the fields of credit, trade, and the training of technicians.

The effect of the character and weight of the aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has been to modify imperialist aid policies towards underdeveloped countries, even compelling them, as Khrushchov has said, "to make certain concessions in dealing with these countries".

This is admitted by Berliner, who writes that Soviet aid "strengthens the bargaining power of the recipient countries in their negotiations with the older sources of aid".[13] Significantly, after the Soviet Union had given credits to Afghanistan at 2 per cent, the United States granted a loan at 3 per cent—previously, in 1954, it had charged 4½ per cent. Similarly, the construction by the Soviet Union of the important Bhilai iron and steel works in India has compelled Britain to abandon its traditional policy and help India build an iron and steel plant in Bengal.

But Soviet economic aid does not only help the development and economic bargaining power of the underdeveloped countries. It also serves to strengthen their political independence and sovereignty.

This, in fact, is admitted by Berliner:

> "The availability of Soviet aid increases the independence of the neutral countries and strengthens their bargaining power with the West."[14]

And he cites the example of Egypt:

> ". . . the possibility of getting Soviet economic aid undoubtedly encouraged Egypt to take as strong a stand as it did."

There is no doubt, too, that socialist economic assistance both to Cuba and to Guinea has strengthened the political position of those two countries and helped them to safeguard their national independence.

At present total production in the socialist countries comprises one third of total world production. By 1965 socialist output will become the dominant factor in world production. This will represent not only an accession of strength to the socialist world, but equally a most powerful source of economic assistance to the underdeveloped countries, and a guarantee that they will be able to follow up their political independence with their economic liberation. And if, within that period, world disarmament is achieved, then, as Khrushchov has already emphasised, still more aid will be available to speed the advance of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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[12] V. Rymalov: "Soviet Assistance to Underdeveloped Countries": *International Affairs:* No. 9, September, 1959, p. 31.

[13] Berliner: op. cit., p. 138.

[14] Berliner: op. cit., p. 18.

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Mental Illness*

S. & V. Leff

WE must now look at our fellow beings who are gripped by the saddest of all troubles—mental ill-health. The great problem of mental ill-health is its universality in the modern world; civilisation can no longer ignore its underlying causes.

Almost half the beds in the hospitals of the advanced countries of the West are filled with people suffering from mental disorder. And for every patient in a mental hospital, there are two unhappy people outside, not ill enough to be "sent away", but certainly not well enough to enjoy their lives fully.

Many people who crowd hospital out-patients' and doctors' surgeries have a psychological cause for their complaints, which requires time and insight to uncover. But outside the medical precincts, there are many other indications that society itself is sick; increases in crime, divorces, suicides, problem families, alcoholism, drug-taking, are also signs of mental ill-health.

Many countries have advanced from victories over widespread infections and diseases caused by underfeeding, only to be faced by the challenge of today: an epidemic of mental illness. In Great Britain one man in every nineteen, and one woman in fourteen will spend some time of their lives as patients in a mental hospital; every year five thousand people kill themselves, and every tenth marriage ends in divorce or separation.

Perhaps more peace of mind reigns in the fresher air and less hectic atmosphere of Scotland? Unhappily, it does not. Once more, almost half the beds in hospital are filled by people mentally ill; one in ten factory workers are hindered by psychological disturbances, as are a quarter to a half of all patients in the family doctor's waiting-room. Child-guidance clinics are continually busy, since many mental disturbances begin in the early years. In an average school of about five hundred pupils, one or two will eventually go into a mental hospital, and another five or six will have a nervous breakdown at some time, many more than will enter a university.

Most European countries have a similar problem. In France one in every twenty-five children are mental defectives who need special attention and schooling; one in every ten or twenty of these become so disturbed while they are at school or soon after they leave that they require additional medical care.

We cannot turn aside from the two million people in Europe who are today mentally sick in hospitals; we must also help the large number of children who are sad and apathetic, too dull to learn and play with normal children. Many are growing up listening to the ugliest sounds they can hear: the quarrelling voices of their parents. Too often they will repeat in their own lives the pattern of broken homes with a new brood of miserable, nervous children. And in some countries every year, life becomes so unbearable for many thousands of people that they kill themselves.

The American Way of Life

No country in the whole world has such great material resources as the United States. It leads the world in its massive output of every variety of goods to make life more comfortable, richer in every way. Yet it also leads the world in its numbers of mentally disturbed: it has at least nine million, one in every twenty people; in addition there are the mental defectives, at least one in every hundred. In at least three or four families in every street, one child will become so mentally ill that sooner or later he will have to go into a hospital, and some of the others will experience the private torture of mental disturbance.

Hundreds of thousands of unhappy Americans must wait patiently for their turn in the psychiatric clinics, and those who can afford the luxury see their own private psychiatrists. The psychiatric joke, which is now so commonplace, reveals a national problem by no means humorous. In Baltimore, an average large American city, one in ten of the population have unmistakable signs of mental disorder. Even more eloquent are the records of mental illness in the United States Army. During the Second World War, almost a million men (one in every twenty) between eighteen and thirty-seven years old had a mental disorder which made them unfit to serve as soldiers. But even when men are passed as fit, added strain can reveal hidden weakness, and it was not long before another million men were

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* This is an extract from the authors' book *Health and Humanity*, which will be published by Lawrence & Wishart Ltd. in the early autumn.

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discharged from service because of mental instability.

We may distinguish between criminal acts and mentally disturbed behaviour, but the United States records present a staggering scene of unhappiness within the social order. Social or psychological derangement sometimes finds an outlet in murder, and there are ten times as many murderers in the United States as in England and Wales. Every year over a million and three-quarter serious crimes are committed. Problem drinkers add another four million unhappy people, one million of whom are chronic alcoholics. About fifty thousand people are drug addicts, and there are about seventeen thousand suicides each year. Every fourth marriage ends in divorce and, after all this, it is not surprising that a quarter of a million children appear in the juvenile courts every year.

And this nationwide sickness costs the United States seven hundred and fifty millions in hard dollars every year. More than a quarter of every dollar the New Yorker pays in taxes is earmarked for the care of the mentally ill. For a nation which prides itself on its business efficiency, apart from any humane considerations, this is clearly bad economics.

Mental disease at the lower depths

The ancient Greeks were obsessed with the belief that a man's fate was decided by powers of which he knew little. In the modern world we are learning much about the influences which can make or destroy man, and so we are gaining power to control our lives. We have already seen how the division of the community into social classes affects the distribution of disease. The people are also divided with mental disorders: we can see how the tragic disease of schizophrenia affects mainly those who are poorest and most isolated, the dwellers in the lowest class of society.

In Chicago most schizophrenics come from the slums, where life is brutal and there is little encouragement for ill-adjusted people to regain a normal state of mind. In England and Wales more than twice the average number of schizophrenics in hospital come from the poorest class. Many are young men in the twenties who seek refuge from a hopeless place in society by withdrawing into this despairing mental illness.

If we look closer we can see the type of home which breeds such dejection. In Connecticut most people included in Social Class V live in tenement houses nearly a hundred years old. A visitor to such a home walks up broken wooden steps, to face a grimy door swinging on its hinges, the shattered glass panel roughly replaced with plywood. The hall is lit only by a dirty skylight, and the walls are decorated by holes gouged out of the plaster and torn strips of ancient brown wallpaper. The visitor must find the way to the family he wishes to see by lighting matches to guide him up the dark staircase; on his way it is doubtful whether he will be able to see the communal lavatory on the landing, serving several families. He reaches the flat where the mentally deranged person lives. The kitchen-living room has torn pieces of linoleum on the floor, a bare electric light bulb for illumination, and part of a double-deck United States Army bed for repose. But it will also have a radio, an old, probably second-hand refrigerator, an electric iron and a television set.

Hundreds of thousands of people live in similar conditions, and from these murky surroundings some break out into violent behaviour which brings them to the police court. Others in the city whose mental disorders lead them into trouble come from the higher classes who can pay psychiatrists to explain to the authorities the causes of their unlawful behaviour and protect them from any misunderstandings. In contrast, sexual offenders, alcoholics and drug addicts from the lowest classes usually reach the courts before the psychoanalyst's couch. At the best, they are sent to public mental institutions where there is little time for individual attention.

The customs of a country operate against the mentally deranged, by separating the financially able from the indigent and judging them accordingly. Even the doctors are unwittingly influenced by social factors; with few doctors and many thousands urgently requiring treatment, they are bound to make a choice. Psychiatric treatment is a long, delicate process, and they cannot afford to waste much effort. So they will tend to choose the promising patient, who will naturally appeal to the psychiatrist on the basis of his intelligence, sensitivity, and social and intellectual standards with which the doctor is in sympathy. Naturally, the already hopeless and abandoned people will grow worse; indeed, there are a far greater number of psychotics in the lowest classes. The mentally disturbed need early and sympathetic treatment, and the plea is strong for more efforts on behalf of the submerged class, who evidently suffer complete breakdown before anyone tries to rescue them.

Lives not worth living

Is it not a challenge to us that so many people in the advanced countries are driven to suicide? The mental suffering must be very powerful to

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bring about such a revolt against the natural instinct of self-preservation.

The usual verdict, "temporary insanity", is a statement not an explanation. At least one person in every hundred citizens of the advanced countries is insane, and another ten are suffering from a neurosis. A major problem in Switzerland, Denmark, Austria, Western Germany and Japan is to save the sufferers from doing away with themselves; these countries have more than twice as many deaths from suicide as from road accidents. Since the end of the war, more people in Britain are committing suicide: almost fifty per cent more, in fact. And for every one of the five thousand who succeed each year, there is another unhappy person who has to be dragged to hospital and revived, a failure at living and dying. Economically poor Catholic countries, such as Ireland, Chile and Spain have the fewest suicides.

In recent years, doctors and social workers have become aware of a disorder of civilisation that thousands, perhaps millions have suffered silently, each one thinking that he alone was unique in his sense of aloneness, of being the odd man out in a crowded city of busy, contented people. Those who ended their frustration by the most despairing of all human deeds have uncovered the common cause of such despair.

Most of the Londoners who committed suicide, both before and since the war, were people who did not "belong". They lived in hotels, bedsitters and lodging-houses in the north and north-west of the town. Many came from the close community of a small provincial city; many had lost contact with the few relations or friends they once had. To be divorced or illegitimate added to the feeling of not being wanted; to be unemployed in common with others, or overcrowded at home, was more bearable, but was still part of an unpleasant human situation.

In London, Hampstead is a district where people can reach the heights—and the depths. For here, attracted by its romantic and literary associations, come people with artistic ambitions, students and professional people, and provincials searching for more interesting and better paid work. In 1950, Hampstead had more suicides than any other London borough, twice as many as the average. People who attempt suicide and end in hospital come also from the poorer classes; they are usually older people who suffer loneliness, neglect and illness, or who are unhappy with their marriage partner, and as a last humiliation have petty money worries. Private patients suffer in a different way, often through unhappy personal relations, hysteria or depression. When mentally ill people find that alcohol or drugs provide only another road into suffering, suicide gradually appears the only possible escape.

It is a fiction that people who threaten to commit suicide never do. Perhaps when this last effort to gain some human sympathy or attention meets with no response, this final blow thrusts them over the edge of caution.

It is wise not to leave drugs or medicines in the household within the reach of anyone, child or adult, but especially when they might come into the hands of some unhappy person at what is known as the "psychological moment". Detailed newspaper reports of suicides and suicidal attempts serve no useful purpose to the person or his family, and they can provide a great deal of harmful suggestion to others.

They "couldn't care less"

The present younger generation is often characterised by a depressed attitude to life: they are the "couldn't care less", the "beat" generation. It could be an accusation that the older people have produced an atmosphere where the natural enthusiasms of youth are distorted or even destroyed.

Psychiatrists cannot remove the international and national dissensions which make many young people feel they live in an insecure world. However, they can help to organise sympathy, understanding and help for the disturbed who are without hope or the wish to live. At least society must show that it cares for the people "who couldn't care less".

Twice as many students suffer from mental ill-health as other people. But in Oxford University many tragedies and suicides have been prevented by tutors showing greater interest in the personal problems and changing moods of their students. Some understanding and guidance at the right time have proved their value in preventive psychiatric treatment.

Schizophrenia or psychopathic behaviour is soon noticed, but depression is often accepted or passed over, since it is so common among people who live normal, everyday lives. But social workers and doctors should be more aware of the dangers of this truly unhealthy attitude.

Life becomes hectic

The underdeveloped countries have very few suicides. Primitive people appear to value life more fully, however restricted or disease-ridden it may be. In nine African villages, there was no record of anyone having taken his own life. In these closely-knit communities, people live together in kinship, owing mutual help and affec-

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tion. No one is expected to bear the strain of life alone, and his troubles being shared, rarely bring about a psychological breakdown. African villagers who have mental troubles show much milder attacks of depression than Europeans, and they are not oppressed by the feelings of guilt and unworthiness which haunt many citizens of advanced countries.

Only the Africans who have come to the towns and are drawn into the vortex of rapid industrialisation develop signs of deep disturbance. Young men and women lose the security of their tribe and family when they are set adrift in a bewildering new world where they have no true sense of belonging. Soon both their physical and mental health are starved of proper nourishment, and they lose their grip on life as surely as the disorientated town-dweller anywhere in the world.

Often they are herded together in strange and squalid surroundings, as in the Alexandra township, outside Johannesburg, where eighty thousand coloured people live in less than two square miles. Besides the diseases we have already seen afflicting this mound of human misery, crime and alcoholism are the easy escapes from the cloud of fear in which the people move. There is so much to fear: the pass-laws and prisons of the white man—and never-ending poverty. Tension and pent-up emotions find release in violent living. Many young girls have illegitimate babies, and venereal disease destroys the health of young people. Fatigue and underfeeding reduce many to the point of breakdown, and some to suicide.

Indian people certainly have not a surfeit of material goods which so often seem to unsettle some in the advanced countries. Neither have they retained the simplicity and cohesion of the small village community. India is passing through a transition from ancient to modern ways, which can deeply disturb people not sufficiently strengthened to adapt to violent upheavals or change.

In every five hundred people there are about four or five mental defectives, and at least one with serious mental disorder. India is harassed by as many crimes as America, many committed by teenagers; in addition, as many as seventeen thousand people commit suicide every year.

Escape from reality

Normal, healthy people feel at home in the world. They have no need to escape from reality: even when life presents difficulties, they have the confidence to try and overcome them: that *is* living. Mentally sick people have neither the strength nor the will to face the world or themselves. Even healthy people run away sometimes, tempted by the happy dreams at the bottom of a bottle or in the fantasy of the film or the novel.

The difference with mentally sick people is that they are running away all the time, and since reality offers them no escape, they are always trying to find their way out through alcohol and drugs.

Wine and spirits when moderately used can change a dull day into a bright and happy one, but they can also poison those who take too much. Alcoholics are certainly disturbed people, often mentally ill; they are not only indulging in lost week-ends; without help, they are lost people. Those living close to a habitual drunkard know the anguish of the family and the humiliation of the sick person, drawn out over years of pretence that all is well. Many an alcoholic knows the inner fears, the struggle to overcome his craving, and his inability to do so without proper help. This is the stage where help is most effective, before he becomes a confirmed addict, too deeply steeped in alcohol to think or act as a reasonable person.

England and Wales are fortunate today that they have fewer alcoholics than many other countries. But, even so, they have almost a hundred thousand chronic drunkards and more than three-quarters of a million who are on their way, taking with them in their unhappiness and social and financial insecurity, their wives, their children and those close to them.

Everyone loses, except those who profit from increased sales of drinks. Besides the tragedy to the individual and the sorrows of the family, society often loses the activities of intelligent and more than usually capable people. Accidents, court cases and deprived families are the common side-effects of alcoholism. The jails in every county in the United States are filled with men arrested while actually drunk. The cost to the United States in lost man-days runs into millions; lost wages alone amounts to 500 million dollars —ten times more than the official contributions to hospitals and other social services.

Why do some people take to drink? The common answer is "to drown their sorrows", but clearly if the sorrows are social or economic, the community as well as the individual has a duty to improve the position. More education among young people would save many from unintentionally becoming addicts, and more public interest and sympathy for alcoholics, together with more clinics and rehabilitation centres, would also help to remove this preventable sickness.

Today the world has millions of opium addicts,

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mostly in Asia. Others cannot live without taking marihuana, heroin or morphine, all of which will hurry them to their deaths.

People become addicts often by accident. They are in pain and there is no doctor in their remote district, so they doctor themselves with a drug. Or unfortunately the doctor has been careless and given too much, thrown out a lifeline which becomes a halter. But too often drug-taking is a social event: in Latin America to offer a smoke of marihuana is a mark of hospitality, and elsewhere you take a "drag" if you want to be one of the gang. In lands where drugs are cheap, and food is scarce, many hungry, miserable people become drug addicts.

The under-developed lands have the greatest problem, and the least resources to deal with it. In Iran a million and a half opium addicts exist in utter misery, a hundred thousand dying prematurely, and thousands more committing suicide, leaving tens of thousands of children abandoned.

The big difficulty is that growing opium is a very profitable business: in fact, five times more profitable than growing wheat, and always sure of a ready sale. The temptation increases with each season; also, workers weakened by opium cannot do a good day's work, and then prefer to use their dwindling energies on producing more and more of the drug-bearing plant.

It is a tragedy that the natural riches of the earth are so often used by men to their own destruction. Heroin was hailed as a wonder drug, but the ease with which it ensnared people to become addicts made it necessary for the League of Nations, and later the World Health Organisation, to try to restrict or even forbid its use.

Today "happy" pills and "soothing" pills are becoming part of the equipment of modern man as much as razors and soap. In the "developed" countries the busy, worried, hectic, anxious millions run to the chemist or the doctor for their calming or stimulating pill; the citizens of the United States consumed more than one thousand million pills in a year. In Japan taking tranquillisers has become a social custom.

They are all "wonder" drugs, according to the high-powered commercial interests, but as doctors know, they can easily act as slow poisons or dangerously cover up the basic troubles, of the unhappy pill-taker.

A balanced outlook with confidence

The aim of society must be for its citizens to have sound minds in healthy bodies. We have seen how far off this goal still is in both the advanced and backward countries, but today we can hope to restore the balance to the mentally sick, and we can see the prevention of mental ill-health as the task of the whole community. In this sense, we are all our brother's keeper; none must be abandoned or discarded because his mind is hurt, especially if he has to retreat from ordinary life for a time. The day of the padded cell and the locked and barred mental hospitals is over for ever, and where this inhuman method still persists, despite all modern teaching, those responsible must be held answerable for the failure to help mentally sick people back to life. There is no place today for the "lunatic asylum". Some disturbed people are so removed from normal living that they must for a time find refuge in a hospital; but such a hospital must be a positive, cheerful place where gently the sick person can become accustomed once again to living in a group, joining in the most normal activities.

A patient can be encouraged to develop the interests and crafts where he can best express himself, and so find himself again, not as a lost, isolated person, but one of a group, interested in others and in living. This rescue work requires the most skilled and sympathetic handling. A person with a sick mind has suffered much from others, and he may need to release some repressed aggression without fear of retaliation, and here psychiatrists, nurses and social workers with experience and patience can greatly help the healing process.

The sick person is brought to hospital and gradually he is convinced that modern methods can help him to recover, and that he has not been removed simply because he is a nuisance to the outer world. He learns that he has no need to be ashamed of his illness, any more than if he had rheumatism or tuberculosis. Then, in a matter-of-fact and co-operative way, the doctor and patient can begin the cure.

Many roads can lead the mentally sick person back to this normal world. In this second half of the twentieth century at last we have an encouraging answer to Macbeth's despairing world-cry to his doctor:

> "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?"

Today, doctors can usually ease and often cure the troubles of a disturbed mind. Besides lengthy psychiatric treatments, there are short cuts. Electric shocks can be given in mild doses, which break the painful emotional chain imprisoning the patient between his unhappy past and dis-

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turbed present. Insulin therapy produces a similar effect, by sending the patient into a coma, from which he emerges feeling more normal and free of depression.

Sometimes the patient is given an injection which produces light anaesthesia so that he can speak more freely of the hidden feelings and emotions which disturb him. The cure comes with the clearer insight that the doctor helps him to gain. It is possible, although painful, to pluck a rooted sorrow from the mind, and it does lose its terrors if the sufferer can learn to look objectively at what is troubling him. To those who have never suffered, it may seem an easy thing to do. But psychiatrists and patients know better. Their victories are often tributes to medicine as an art and a skill at its best.

Today, we recognise that the mind and the body are as much one as the pattern and the weave. So that treating a faulty physical condition can sometimes help to bring a mental disturbance back to normal.

Drugs are used to make a patient sleep almost entirely through a period of two or three weeks, in order to rest an overworked nervous system. Chemists, juggling with fascinating arrangements of organic compounds in their quiet laboratories, are constantly discovering new drugs which bring peace and calm to disturbed minds.

Surgery, with operations on the brain, can alter the behaviour of people who have shown violence and are continually aggressive, although it is better to find alternative treatment if possible.

Unfortunately, many of these cures are not always lasting. All the same, in general, modern psychiatry works. We know, because the hospital doors are opening wide, and usually after only a few months instead of years; patients who only a short time ago would have been considered incurable are going out into the world with confidence and serenity.

Doctors have not waited until they know all the answers to the cause of mental illness. They have now grasped the fundamental idea that people naturally wish to live in harmony with their fellows; when mental disorders threaten to isolate them, doctors must help to bring them back once again to social living.

Doctors now treat people also at day hospitals, where they can join with others to discuss their problems, and learn new occupations; they can work out their difficulties through sessions with the doctors, and express themselves through painting or crafts, and at night return home as other people do. Or if they are the lonely ones with no affection or care at home, they can sometimes sleep at the hospital and be treated by drugs and other means, and go to work every day, feeling more ordinary and normal as the days pass.

Out-patients' departments are also making room for mentally disturbed people so that they can go there as others do with physical disorders: to be diagnosed and treated, without fear of losing touch with their ordinary domestic surroundings. It has always been a cruel added anxiety for people already suffering from mental strain to find no ready help for their troubles. Many become quite desperate before they willingly go through the ordeal of finding a psychiatrist or clinic able to accept them as patients. Yet it is so much easier to treat mental disturbance early, before it becomes a deeply ingrained habit.

Medical students must be trained to understand and help people with psychological, or "human" problems—to be their family doctor and friend; for as we have seen, half the medical work of a doctor in many countries is concerned with mental health. He has many opportunities in his day's work to say the right word at the right time, working together with clinics, in the school and factory services, and meeting social workers, nurses and employers.

Countries, like families . . .

. . . Have their own troubles, and try in their own ways to remedy them. No country is free from this distressing sickness, but some are better equipped than others to win their afflicted people back to sanity and wholeness.

Holland has a splendid psychiatric social service in Amsterdam, which provides a first-aid emergency service day and night. Ten psychiatrists, supported by twenty-five social workers, are on call to family doctors, social workers and the police; psychiatrists visit patients on the spot and decide whether they need hospital treatment, or help and guidance in their own homes.

They also give help to the serious mental cases; the schizophrenics, the feeble-minded and the psychopaths. Their aim is to give support to those who are usually the outcasts of the community, the ones without hope. The help is above all practical. The patients are supervised at home by health visitors, and they are given clothes if necessary. Home helps are provided if needed, and the families are encouraged to keep them in the domestic circle; if they have financial troubles, they are given money as part of medical treatment to remove this particular worry. Some of them are given work in sheltered workshops.

In England there are similar experiments, helped by the Nuffield Trust. In Worthing there is a special out-patients' service, which works closely with the local mental hospital and its out-

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patients' clinic, the day hospital and family doctors. The psychiatrists make many home visits, and already fewer patients have to be admitted to the mental hospitals, which are after all the very last resort. These new techniques are saving people in large numbers from further deterioration, and very often they help them back to a more normal life, and also relieve mental hospitals of overcrowding, allowing them to do their general work more efficiently.

Norway shares many of the medical triumphs of the advanced countries, and at the same time suffers the same disturbing increase in mental illness, with today as many as five people in every thousand needing special help. Norway has an unusual history of arranging private families to care for patients rather than placing them into institutions. This is a very happy solution, if the families are of the right type; but in recent years, because the hospital service is inadequate, there has been a tendency to crowd sick people into homes which are not always suitable.

Following the exile of so many Jewish professional people from their native lands, Israel has more doctors to the population than any other country. The modern inquisition has also produced more psychological disturbance than there are doctors to deal with it, and the new and struggling State of Israel has had to find emergency methods to care for many thousands of men and women whose mental health has been wrecked by the inhumanity of their previous fellow-countrymen.

The medical authorities of Israel frankly admit that they have inherited an overwhelming problem, and even today the situation is still grave. The new Government found there were only a few hundred beds for thousands of mental cases who required hospital treatment. By the greatest of efforts, through Government and voluntary means, there are now four thousand beds, housed sometimes in rough, temporary buildings, and, even with this, there are more than a thousand acute or chronic cases without sanctuary except in their own harassed families. Israel is only now beginning to establish mental hygiene clinics, and to train health workers in the new methods. But it is essentially a modern state, and has easily adopted the latest techniques, above all retaining the humanity of outlook towards people whose sickness is only too human in origin.

Professors of Medicine from the World Health Organisation who have visited hospitals such as Tel-Hashomer and Rambam have praised highly the special wards for patients with psychiatric troubles.

Treatment in the underdeveloped countries

We have said that in the advanced countries mental illness threatens to break down the concrete defences of our civilisation in a tidal wave of pent-up emotions. There is less evidence of mental ill-health in the underdeveloped countries, but nevertheless people of different races have similar physical and mental reactions to difficulties.

All societies have their taboos, and social punishments if they are broken. Symptoms of anxiety are just as painful whether they are ascribed to magic, witchcraft, or psychological complexes. Alcohol in all times and all countries has offered forgetfulness, and Africans have their own ways of making beer from millet and wine from palms.

Suggestion, hypnosis and psychotherapy are modern versions of ancient practices: religious confessionals, trances and ritual dances, which became part of traditional treatment. Even today, they cannot be discarded by the native treatment centres while sick people have faith in them. But they also need to be treated in scientific ways by skilled doctors; yet in 1956, Nigeria had only two psychiatrists for thirty-two million people. In the whole of the country there are only about a hundred beds for mental patients, many reserved for criminal lunatics.

We know already how poor the hospitals are in Africa and Asia, and we can easily imagine how much more gloomy and terrifying are the places kept for the mentally deranged. About eighty years ago, Asia built a few mental hospitals which were even then behind the times in many countries. Such a hospital today has over a thousand patients, mostly men. There are seven doctors, with no special training, and with no idea of the modern approach to mental troubles. The patients would be better off in the local jail, which is reasonably clean, and where the inmates at least know the date of their release.

In India, the Bangalore hospital is the only mental hospital in the whole Mysore State. Indonesia is also very backward in its care of mentally disturbed people. There are at least seventy thousand sick people, and nearly half urgently need hospital treatment, but there are only beds for a few thousand, with very few nurses and even less doctors.

Panama is itself a disturbed country, and its political upheavals reflect in the poor administration of the medical aid for the mentally ill. The one National Psychiatric Hospital has almost twice as many in-patients as beds, and there is hardly any money for food or clothing for the patients. This is not surprising, since investiga-

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tions show that almost a half of the hospital funds go on political manœuvres, for example, to the payroll of people who support the right politician at the right time; the remainder of the money is often used wastefully without any real benefit to the patients.

In many folk cultures the mentally deranged person can easily become the religious mystic, and he roams from town to village in pitiful poverty, part of the traditional picture of holy asceticism. A trained observer can recognise many a mental case begging outside the temples and mystifying the gullible crowds in the streets. Most Indians still accept the primitive idea that only special rituals can relieve a deranged person of his "possession" by devils, and once a person is taken into a hospital, the family think he is past help and may reject him even when he is pronounced cured.

Can the tidal wave recede?

Many doctors do not suffer from the self-deception of King Canute, thinking they have the power alone to halt a natural development. But neither is mental illness in the community as inevitable as the rising tide: many of its causes have been created by men and can be controlled by them.

As far back as 1948 the President of the United States received a report on mental illness emphasising this: "Man's mental as well as physical health is very much at the mercy of what goes on about him. The economic insecurity of unemployment and old age, the lack of opportunity for education and adequate health services, poor housing and lack of good sanitation, prejudice and discrimination, failure to share in the civil liberties guaranteed all citizens, inflation, the threat of atomic war—these are very real everyday problems and they are the kind of social factors that can wear away personality defences and destroy mental health."

Here is an indictment which every country in the world should examine in all sincerity. For what is the value of spending many thousands of pounds, dollars or roubles on healing hurt minds, unless at the same time every effort is made to protect citizens from suffering which often cannot be relieved completely?

People living under different conditions are assailed by different fears, but atomic war threatens everyone, everywhere. Its mysterious and uncontrolled nature particularly affects those who are already unstable; normal people cannot avoid the overhanging anxiety that permeates even everyday conversations with worried talk about uncertain international relations, and the dangers of fall-out, contaminated food and water, cancer, and genetic damage.

Unemployment or social insecurity haunt workers in many countries, but monotonous or boring work can strain their mental balance when they are capable of more complicated tasks. Political or social discrimination or lack of opportunities for promotion can frustrate people beyond endurance. People profoundly need to take part in work of social value, to see the product of their labour, and to feel pride in their achievement. However productive industry is, it must also produce material and psychological satisfaction for the people if it is to achieve its real purpose.

There is a new danger today in the introduction of automation in the advanced countries, for although it is an advantage to free men from machines, they must not have to fear that it also brings unemployment. Once in British history, men rioted against machines which displaced their labour. In our day we must have the foresight to guarantee the most efficient use of automation and atomic energy, so that the living standards of people everywhere in the world can benefit.

Times and social customs change, but deep-rooted human emotions are not so variable. The need is always there to love and to be loved, to belong to a community, and to live by values which are acceptable as a guide to behaviour. Some people can live without these emotional satisfactions, others endure but suffer often without realising how their peace is being violated.

The new housing estates in Britain provided clean bright accommodation suited to the small-sized modern family with one child and perhaps a baby car, but they took no heed of other essential human needs; a modern disease soon appeared, the "suburban neurosis", which is simply the revolt of warm-hearted human beings against loneliness, isolation and boredom. American suburban neurosis is often linked with the strain of keeping up appearances, having to prove that the breadwinner is as capable as the man next door of providing every new gadget and luxury article that the unending production line throws off.

The middle class has suffered for several generations now from a particularly vicious set of false values, which withhold social approbation from the qualities which do not further worldly success; gentleness, modesty, consideration for others; qualities which we believe profoundly are closer to the human heart than other characteristics which society encourages—aggressiveness, ruthlessness and cunning.

The men who organise, own and control large industries also have their special stresses. There

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is no opportunity to relax, even after years of struggle and exertion; money must be used to make more money, and the big business executive cannot regain his prestige once he begins to slow down.

But even a businessman must rest his over-strained body and mind, or he will be forced to by a breakdown in health. Rushed between conferences, air-trips, and high-speed living, he may not notice the small warning signs, until he is suddenly ill with heart disease, psychological disturbances or high blood-pressure. The man who could control and manipulate the most difficult business deals learns that he cannot play for ever with his own health.

The severest test

We have described the many successful ventures the socialist systems have taken against age-old diseases. We have seen that they succeed because they tackle the social causes of ill-health: poverty, dirt and ignorance.

But we have also said that the mental good health of the community is the critical test of the system whereby people live. No system can avoid altogether the conflicts that arise between people, or all of the causes of physical damage to the brain, either before or at birth. But there are many recognised mental disorders which are closely bound to conditions of poverty, or to social prejudice or other moral pressures. Different countries may pride themselves on their advanced and humane methods of treating mental ill-health, but it is also necessary to watch the social pressures which may be causing unhappiness and breakdown, especially in the socialist countries whose greatest triumphs are based on the social approach to illness.

The Soviet Union has developed the treatment of mental disorder in a different way from the West, at least in theory. The teachings of Pavlov have been applied to psychiatry, to find the physical causes of mental disturbance, or how habits of behaviour can be determined by repeated physical stimulus. This work has encouraged the wide use of treatment such as sleep-therapy, aimed at resting and restoring bodily functions, and also other methods used in the West, such as insulin shock treatment, and the use of drugs. Less attention has been given in the Soviet Union to the theories of Freud, whose emphasis on the sex motive and the unconscious mind has not been in harmony with the socialist principles of the driving force of social and communal needs in human behaviour. At the same time, Soviet doctors faced with unhappy and disturbed patients have naturally used all methods which worked, including psychotherapy and the sympathetic probe into the psychological troubles of the individual.

The main emphasis, however, is on the social approach, and day hospitals were known in the Soviet Union as early as 1937.

The Soviet Government does not leave the task of dealing with anxiety complexes entirely to the psychiatrists. Many of the social causes of unrest have been removed. Everyone has the right to work and is safeguarded against ill-health and old age by very generous insurance policies. Prosperity is increasing, and with more consumer goods on sale there is less temptation for people to spend their money on alcohol, as in Poland until recently.

Soviet propaganda has always emphasised the drive to peace and the desirability of peaceful competition with the capitalist countries. However this propaganda is judged, it undoubtedly helps to create a calm and serene atmosphere, and reduces the nervous strain which comes with the daily newspaper and its familiar talk of war.

There has been a time in the Soviet Union, and in the countries which follow her, when political difficulties led to acts of social injustice which were the very contradiction of socialist aims. In these tragic years there must have been much individual neurosis arising from frustration, anxiety and fear. But the faults and the injustices have been acknowledged officially, which is the best token that there will be great public vigilance in the future against acts which so hinder social advance.

The Soviet Union equals the United States in the number of doctors and hospital beds provided for the population, yet they find it necessary to have only a hundred thousand beds for psychiatric patients, and under three thousand psychiatrists, less than half the supply in the United States, where even so they cannot cope with their great numbers of patients. Most of the treatment in the Soviet Union is carried out in community clinics, whereas in the United States the doctors work either in hospitals or private practices with very few available to deal with the large waiting lists at the clinics. In accordance with the rest of the medical services, mental treatment in the Soviet Union is free. In the United States it has been found necessary to charge the families of patients, if they have the means to pay. In many States the families actually contribute more money than the State does.

Calm and serene

Today we can discuss mental ill-health in a calm and hopeful way. Medical science has finally

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ended the nightmare of generations that to be mad was to be doomed. Today, if people are treated early in the course of their illness, from seventy to eighty in a hundred can learn to live again as useful members of the community. Many mental disorders are coming under medical control; delirium leading to mental trouble and melancholia can now be cured in a very brief time. The connection between physical and mental disorder is understood more, and what cannot be treated in one way, can very often be controlled in another.

Above all, we understand today that a healthy untroubled mind belongs to a healthy body, and even more, to a healthy, stable and well-balanced social environment. Family love, security and interesting rewarding work are the foundations of human happiness and well-being. These are the guarantee of a rich maturity, which is the right of every person.

Discussion contributions:

On Cybernetics

Marshall Harris

THE article on *"The Use of Cybernetics in Sociology"* raises a number of interesting points. The author says that the possibilities of a super-machine "remain strictly limited to the analysis of only those problems which can be expressed, in mathematical form (quantitative)."

I am not a mathematician, so I make strictly lay comments open to correction. I think the above-quoted formulation is misleading, for two reasons.

First, are quantitative mathematics such a severe limitation? Have they not been used in modern times in remarkable and unexpected applications? I am thinking of the generalisation of language processes in symbolic or mathematical logic, and the concept of the "interlingua", a symbolic language via which any language might be translated into any other. Here is the application of mathematics to a fundamental condition of human social existence, language.

Constructing a Brain?

Another example is the application of mathematics to biology. Can we say without doubt that mathematics may not be applied to psychology? If it is conceivable that we can construct an electro-mechanical analogue of the human brain (and why not?), then the method of its working can be expressed in logical-mathematical symbols. Therefore, cannot its behaviour in a given set of conditions be calculated? In other words, if we know how a machine works, we can deduce how it will work in a given situation. If we can do this for the analogue, why can we not do it for the original, the human brain? And if the given situation in which it works includes numerous other brains, each individually knowable, cannot a "super-machine" provided with the individual data, all the variables, determine the outcome of their complex interactions? In other words, given advances in brain physiology and electro-mechanical systems, is a social-prediction machine inconceivable? (The philosophical problem of determinism is involved here — is there not a determinism relative to each set of conditions? — what is accidental in one relationship is determined or necessary in another.)

So far I have discussed the problem as though mathematics are indeed quantitative. Is this true, and if so, must it be so for ever? Quantity and quality are aspects of the same reality. I wonder whether their relationship is similar to other dialectical ones—energy and matter, for example —forms and aspects of each other? Does mathematics seek to express the qualitative aspects of things in quantitative terms? Size, number, and changes caused by operations are qualitative phenomena as well as quantitative. Different numbers are qualitatively as well as quantitatively different, for they possess different properties—odd, even, prime, etc. Addition of two odd numbers transforms them into an even number—and transformation is a qualitative change. I would refer the reader here to Engels' Notes and Fragments on Mathematics, in *"Dialectics of Nature,"* particularly the sections on "Quantity and Quality," and "Number."

Further Speculations

Furthermore, if my memory is correct, in the excellent Soviet science-fiction novel *"Andromeda,"* the author speculates on the development

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of a qualitative mathematics dealing with transformations and changes of state. Is this inconceivable?

Can we even rule out the possibility of machines so quantitatively advanced over those of today that they are capable of qualitatively new applications and results?

One final speculation: If we can construct electro-mechanical analogues of the brain, we must presumably provide them with a means of learning, which among other things requires an analogue of our unconditioned reflexes, if Pavlovian theory is correct. Does this mean that such machines would have instincts different from ours, and so should be feared? I do not think so, for the essential thing is to provide them with a *means* of learning—the outcome (knowledge and thought) must reflect objective processes and so be accessible to us, however they are derived originally. American science-fiction writers often fall into the trap of fascistic thinking, when they assume that machines or alien creatures must have alien and hostile ways of thinking.

On Culture and Socialism

Edwin H. Dare

AS one who could not be stigmatised as "a cultural comrade," I read Michael Cohen's article ("Culture and Socialism," *Marxism Today*, June, 1960) with interest, hoping to gain some understanding about working-class culture. My hope was disappointed and I feel no clearer now than before reading it and, although I am not able to answer the points he raises, I should like to set down a few thoughts and questions of my own on the subject.

My confusion arises first of all because it seems to me that Comrade Cohen has not been able to determine his "terms of reference". He quotes Comrade Gomulka on "The Cultural Revolution" and seems to see culture as . . . *the development of artistic and intellectual creation.*"

Then he disagrees with Edgell Rickword's definition from "The Mind in Chains," viz.:

For the Marxist, culture is not a mass of works of art, of philosophical ideas, of political concepts accumulated at the top of the social pyramid by specially gifted individuals, but the inherited solution of problems of vital importance to society, finding this definition too broad.

Later he says that culture should be . . . *the development of the human faculty for the execution of conscious creative purposes which may be achieved in activities outside what we normally refer to as art.* Finally, he sees . . . *many* [*collective or practical*] *working-class activities which provide ample evidence of cultural aspirations.*

If it is necessary to narrow our field of discussion from Rickword's definition, would something like: "activities not concerned with man's struggle to live but those things concerned with his spiritual understanding" be sufficient (using spiritual in the mental, not "soulful" sense)? This seems closest to Gomulka's definition.

This leaves out of account the application of those activities to man's everyday life, for example, in using art to improve the layout of factory or office buildings, the design of houses or public buildings, or even of ships or aeroplanes —all of which relate to Rickword's definition. It does take into account the ideas of culture of the kind which, presumably, made Goering reach for his gun, namely literature, music and the decorative arts.

Working-Class Distinctions

I think that it is also necessary to make some distinction in our use of the term "working class." I believe that it is necessary for us to distinguish between the industrial working class and the non-industrial working class, which seems to provide the bulk of audiences at concerts or the majority of viewers at art exhibitions or, from one's limited experience at the local public library, the latest books on current affairs or well-recommended novels.

For these people—probably an increasing number as the proportion of white-collar workers increases—it is probably true to say, as Michael Cohen infers, that they suffer from the diffusion of middle-class ideas of culture, but are these necessarily bad and does the industrial working class suffer more from the "mass culture diffused . . . by the mass media in the hands of big business"? But here I begin to get even more bogged-down!

Apart from seeing that working-class culture must be influenced by bourgeois ideas which themselves are part of "our cultural heritage," I

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have difficulty in applying "class" ideas to certain aspects of cultural development.

What are middle-class cultural values as applied to music, for example? What ideas are expressed in the music of Prokoviev or Shostakovitch, with their background of socialist society, that are different from those of, say, Beethoven or Vaughan Williams? How can working-class content be infused into chamber music and is one slipping into revisionist tendencies by developing a liking for the Vienna Octet, for instance?

Form and Content

In literature, it seems easier to see the influence of middle-class ideas, yet here again there are difficulties. There have been few books written by industrial working-class writers and these, in my experience, often portray wooden characters and forced situations. In fact, they seem limited by the narrow everyday lives lived by their writers and the working class, although this is probably partly due to lack of technical skill in writing.

The books written by non-industrial working-class writers achieve a better effect, especially when they move outside the field of everyday working-class life, e.g., "Tramstop by the Nile." Yet many writers outside the working class have written books responsible for moving people into activity in politics, in developing an interest in society—even into membership of the Communist Party, although one doubts whether their approach was a deliberate "class approach." Equally, of course, one recognises the existence of Mickey Spillane and his effect on our cultural development.

If association with the working class is needed to develop the writer's *content*, ways will need to be found whereby he can receive training in the *form* of writing without moving into circles where he becomes divorced from his roots; a difficult task, as Comrade Dave Wallis illustrated recently in *Marxism Today*.

In the decorative arts, too, one runs into snags. L. S. Lowry in his paintings conveys the background to life in the industrial centres of Britain, but I must say that many examples of the French Impressionists' art—even some Tâchistes—give me a more pleasurable experience. Of course, Lowry's figures are always so insignificant that one feels that they do not count, which is in sharp distinction to the figure of Sicilian workers painted by Guttoso, where the whole bearing of his subjects is one of strength. Yet each seems representative of an aspect of the whole of working-class life.

But, I wonder, can any of them move me into action without an understanding of the rest of society existing and developing outside the subject of the pictures? In this respect, a visit to the exhibition of Russian art added nothing to my understanding of working-class culture in the field of painting.

What Standards?

Yet here, as in sculpture, should almost photographic realism be the standard for working-class ideas in art, or is there a case for the excitement of trying to see things differently through the eyes of a Picasso or a Henry Moore?

All of which leads me to ask Michael Cohen what he has in mind as working-class culture? He says . . . *there are many working-class activities which provide ample evidence of cultural aspirations,* but does not define them.

Has he in mind the pub darts team, the pigeon fanciers' club, the working-men's club snooker team, or watching football? If so, surely these are part of Rickword's definition and do not fulfil the requirements of Comrade Cohen's use of a narrower definition of culture? Or has he in mind the amateur dramatic group which, presumably, has a special problem because of the lack of material with working-class content? Or is it the development of art groups formed among workers and which, in so few cases, reflect their particular lives and interests?

You see, I accept that there will be changes in the cultural life of Britain when the working class attains power. I want it to mean more than the spontaneous swarming of people around a personality—be it Mr. Khrushchov or a rock-'n'-roll star—but I cannot for the life of me see what those changes will be, excepting that there will be more participants in the activities as distinct from the present situation where opportunities to improve our mental endowments are too limited.

I appreciate that I have produced no masterpiece to counterpose Arnold Kettle's *uncertain glimpse into the future* of our cultural development, but I hope that I have asked a few questions which will help us to see more clearly the standards we wish to achieve. In the words of one of the performers on our most influential mass media—"I only arsked."

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